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# EARLY CHRISTIAN EPITAPHS FROM ATHENS

## I. PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

THE FIRST extensive collection of the early Christian inscriptions from Attica was made by S. A. Koumanoudes.<sup>1</sup> The significance of his publication lies in the fact that he separated the early Christian inscriptions of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries from the Byzantine inscriptions of the following centuries.<sup>2</sup> He excluded these later inscriptions because of the many ligatures and other peculiarities and difficulties in script which seemed to require a separate treatment (*op. cit.*, Foreword, p. 2). This distinction made by Koumanoudes was accepted by C. Bayet whose dissertation *De Titulis Atticae Christianis Antiquissimis, Commentatio Historica et Epigraphica* (abbreviated: Bayet), 1878, is still the best treatment of this subject, although it has found little attention.

Bayet began his investigation by writing a commentary on many of the published documents, to which he added a few recently found inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> These articles, rather than his more comprehensive dissertation, were used by W. Dittenberger for the edition of the early Christian inscriptions in *I.G.*, III, 3435-3547, published in 1882.<sup>4</sup> Dittenberger added seventeen more inscriptions to the number already known, but he failed to include several others which were published only by Bayet (nos. 10, 11, 13, 56, 60, 79, 81, 82, 84, 87, 95, 106).<sup>5</sup> There are, moreover, several minor differences in the texts of the four inscriptions published separately and independently by Bayet and Dittenberger.<sup>6</sup> Dittenberger also omitted an inscription from Laureion published by S. A. Koumanoudes, *Ἀθήναιον*, IX, 1880, pp. 171-172, no. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι, 1871, nos. 3540-3623. Sixteen of these eighty-five inscriptions had been previously published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (I, 965; IV, 9303, 9307-9316, 9318-9320). Although Kirchhoff considered *C.I.G.*, IV, 9317 a Christian epitaph (because it was found with other similar stones near the Church of Λαμπρώτισσα), Koumanoudes placed it (no. 2270) among the pagan monuments. C. Bayet (*op. cit. supra*) tentatively included this epitaph in his collection (no. 120), but he questioned the reason given by Kirchhoff. Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, 1455) and Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11153) placed it among the pagan inscriptions; compare L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, XIV, 1943, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> He does, however, include two inscriptions of a later period. No. 3572 is dated in the year 936, but the text is uncertain; no. 3587 is dated in the year 1064. For a recent discussion of these late inscriptions, see V. Laurent, *Études Byzantines*, I, pp. 63 ff. [we did not consult this book].

<sup>3</sup> *B.C.H.*, I, 1877, pp. 391-408; II, 1878, pp. 31-35 and 162-166.

<sup>4</sup> Dittenberger also published several Christian epigrams in *I.G.*, III, 1383-1387, and three other Christian epitaphs in *I.G.*, III, 1427, 1428, and 3516 *a* (in the addenda on p. 306). Eight (*I.G.*, III, 3437 + 3481 *b*, 3438, 3465, 3487, 3502, 3513, 3516 *a*, and 3517) are republished below, Nos. I to VIII.

<sup>5</sup> Six of these (nos. 11, 13, 79, 81, 87 and 95) are republished below, Nos. X to XV.

<sup>6</sup> 1. The inscription published by Bayet, no. 22, and by Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III, 3488, is now



In the same year in which Dittenberger's *Inscriptiones Graecae*, III, appeared, P. Konstantinides published sixteen Christian inscriptions in *Παρνασσός*, VI, 1882, pp. 80-85. Most of these inscriptions were found in the year 1877, in the Asklepieion and in various other places in Athens.<sup>7</sup> In the same volume of *Παρνασσός* (p. 252), J. Ch. Dragarses published a Christian inscription from the Piraeus.

One of the most important Christian epitaphs was found in 1888 during excavations conducted on the slope of Mount Lykabettos, at 26 Tsakalof Street.<sup>8</sup> It is the tombstone of Bishop Klematios, dated in the fifth century by the letter forms of the inscription and by the architectural fragments which were found at the same time.<sup>9</sup>

In *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, I, 1892, pp. 67-68 (the third inscription is pagan; see below, note 22) and II, 1894, p. 89 (a text from Mt. Lykabettos), several other epitaphs were published by G. Lampakes. A few years later, K. M. Konstantopoulos' *Ἀνέκδοτοι ἐπιγραφὰι ἐπιτύμβιοι χριστιανικῶν χρόνων* appeared in *Ἀρμονία*, 1900, pp. 19-37, nos. 1-38 (abbreviated: *Harmonia*).

Four of the inscriptions published by Konstantopoulos (nos. 2, 19, 20, 31) had already been included in Bayet (nos. 79, 81, 95, 87).<sup>10</sup> Four (nos. 13, 16, 17, 26), actually found in Corinth, were originally published by A. N. Skias, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1893, cols. 125-127 (nos. 22, 18, 20, 17), and republished in *I.G.*, IV, 409, 411, 413, 404, and in the *Corpus der Griechisch-Christlichen Inschriften von Hellas* (abbreviated *C.G.-C.I.*), I, 1 (Isthmos-Korinthos, edited by N. A. Bees), nos. 44, 41, 56, 42.<sup>11</sup>

in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (E.M. 9943). Dittenberger failed to indicate the traces of a cross (flanked by two other crosses? See below, note 74) above the inscription. Bayet's restoration of the name (Φιλ[έα]) is preferable to Dittenberger's (Φίλω[νος]), for the lower part of the epsilon is actually preserved. On the other hand, Dittenberger's reading [Κ]οιμητήριον is correct.

2. For a discussion of *I.G.*, III, 3517 = Bayet, no. 23, see below, No. VIII.

3. The inscription published by Bayet, no. 61, and by Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III, 3474, is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9903). The text of this columnar grave monument as given by Dittenberger is correct, for the first letter of the third line is clearly a gamma.

4. For a discussion of *I.G.*, III, 3487 = Bayet, no. 83, see below, No. IV.

<sup>7</sup> The epitaph published by Konstantinides, *loc. cit.*, p. 81, no. 1, was already included by Bayet (no. 10); N. A. Bees, *C.G.-C.I.* (see p. 24), I, 1, p. 91, apparently thought that they were two different inscriptions. Since Bayet did not illustrate this stone with a drawing (and probably never saw it?), the text of Konstantinides may be accepted. The inscription published as no. 8 is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 5680); no. 11 is republished below, No. XVI.

<sup>8</sup> See Neroutsos, *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, III, 1889, p. 71; J. Strzygowski, *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1890, p. 1; G. A. Soteriou, *Εὑρετήριον*, I, p. 56, fig. 43; *Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 43; *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, X, 1933-1934, p. 179, fig. 8.

<sup>9</sup> For the possible identification of the Bishop with Klematios mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13224, see below, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> These are republished below, Nos. XII-XV.

<sup>11</sup> These stones were first brought to the Museum of the Archaeological Society (where Konstantopoulos copied them, perhaps unaware of their provenience; see also note 162), and were later transferred to the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9963, 9959, 9960, 9957). In *Harmonia*, no. 13 (Skias, no. 22 = *I.G.*, IV, 409 = *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, 44), the first preserved line should be read and



Several others (nos. 14, 18 + 33, 35-38) are of a later period.<sup>12</sup> In spite of this, his publication, which is hardly accessible outside Greece,<sup>13</sup> ranks with Bayet's as one of the outstanding contributions in the field. The many tombstones which he publishes for the first time are illustrated by drawings and are described in detail. We republish seven of them (nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, and 15 = Nos. XVII to XXIII) and illustrate two others (nos. 12 and 22 on Plates VIII and X) with photographs taken from squeezes, not so much to correct his texts as to make our study of the early Christian inscriptions from Athens more nearly complete.

No new collection of the Christian inscriptions from Attica has since appeared, but a number of recently found documents have been published in various periodicals. Two stones found during the excavations of the Odeion of Perikles, and thus coming from the Christian cemetery in the old sanctuary of Asklepios, were published by P. Kastriotes, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1914, p. 166, nos. 4 and 5.<sup>14</sup> During the excavations conducted on the northeast slope of the Areopagus, G. A. Soteriou found, and subsequently published in *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, II, 1916, p. 142, fig. 16, one early Christian epitaph which may belong to the same cemetery as the Christian tombstones found in the near-by Agora.<sup>15</sup> A Christian inscription from Laureion was published by G. K. Zesios, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Χριστιανῶν χρόνων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 1917, p. 17 (reprinted in the author's collected essays, *Σύμμικτα*, p. 13, note 1). An interesting Christian tombstone was found in February, 1916, near the Theatre of Dionysos (thus also belonging to the Asklepieion cemetery), and was published by A. C. Chatses, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1925-1926, p. 97, fig. 2. The inscription was engraved on the back of a fragment of an Attic prytany list (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1806a) dated *ca.* 190-200 after Christ.<sup>16</sup>

Most of the Christian inscriptions which were found during the 19th century and which were originally kept in various places were transferred toward the end of the century to the then newly established Epigraphical Museum in Athens, and are still there, together with the pagan inscriptions. Judging from the collection of squeezes kept at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, some of these inscrip-

restored as *Ἀγαθοκλ*[(*ῆς* or *εία*) *μη*]νί. For the abbreviations of the last line, see also *Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 147, and for the guide lines on this stone, see below, note 139.

<sup>12</sup> Konstantopoulos himself observed that nos. 35-38 are later than the seventh century. The abbreviations used in no. 14 (E.M. 9995) make it likely that this document is also of a date later than the sixth century. The same applies to no. 18 (E.M. 9974) which belongs to the same stone as no. 33 (E.M. 9985), together with an unpublished fragment, the inventory number of which (E.M. 9975) indicates that this fragment has already been combined with no. 18.

<sup>13</sup> For rare Greek books kept in American libraries, see P. W. Topping, *Byzantion*, XV, 1940-1941, pp. 434-436.

<sup>14</sup> The illustration, fig. 23, shows that the reading of no. 5, as printed by Kastriotes, should be slightly corrected: [*κυμητή*]|*ριον*| *Στεφά*|*νο*(*υ*) *καὶ* *Σο*|*λομω*|*νίδος*. For the use of the ligature omikron upsilon and of the abbreviated form of *καί*, see below, notes 66 and 63.

<sup>15</sup> See below, notes 80 and 130.

<sup>16</sup> For the text of the Christian inscription, see below, note 41.



tions do not seem to have been published. After the opening of the Byzantine Museum, in 1914, the more recently discovered Christian inscriptions, and apparently also some of the older pieces, were placed there. The *Guide* of this Museum, published by G. Soteriou, contains discussions and illustrations of some of the 33 assembled documents.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, there may be mentioned the Christian inscriptions found by O. Broneer on the North Slope of the Akropolis and published in *Hesperia*, as well as a new inscription from the Pnyx which is probably Christian.<sup>18</sup>

Of the Christian inscriptions found during the excavations of the Agora, only one has been published thus far (*Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 265, no. 19). Most of the other documents are published below, Nos. 1-34.

## II. ARRANGEMENT OF THE MATERIAL

Bayet observed (pp. 29-31) that the Christian gravestones of Athens may be separated into groups according to the place of discovery. He rightly assumed, moreover, that the various regions in which Christian tombstones were found must have contained Christian cemeteries. The early date of two of these cemeteries has been confirmed by recent investigations.<sup>19</sup> The name of the saint, to whose church the cemetery on Mount Lykabettos belonged, is unknown, but the burial ground located in the Asklepios sanctuary may have been attached to a church dedicated to Saint Andrew; see No. XI. The great number of early Christian epitaphs found in the Agora excavations, at a considerable distance from any of the three areas mentioned above, points to the existence of an early Christian cemetery in or near the Agora itself. Two early Christian churches are known in this region,<sup>20</sup> yet no early Christian burials have been found near these two churches.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, the church of St. Agathokleia is known from two early epitaphs, one of which was found in the

<sup>17</sup> See *Guide*<sup>1</sup> (1924), p. 21 and plate 4 (after p. 40); *Guide*<sup>2</sup> (1931), pp. 42-43; compare also G. A. Soteriou, *Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (abbreviated: *Εὑρετήριον*), I, pp. 25-26, fig. 2 (on p. 10), and pp. 55-56, fig. 43.

<sup>18</sup> See II, 1933, p. 414, no. 39, fig. 89; IV, 1935, p. 186, no. 53, fig. 76 = XI, 1942, p. 303, no. 62 (see below, note 33); VII, 1938, pp. 262-263, fig. 88 etc.; *Suppl.* VII, pp. 10-11, no. 16 (cf. L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LVII, 1944, p. 208, no. 90): 'Ονησᾶ μνήμη καὶ Ἐπαγάθης. For μνήμη = μνήμα, see W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (1908), no. 278. See also note 31, below.

<sup>19</sup> For the Asklepion area, see G. A. Soteriou, *Εὑρετήριον*, I, pp. 47-48; for the Lykabettos area, see *ibid.*, pp. 55-56. The many Christian epitaphs found in the old pagan Dipylon cemetery show that this ancient Athenian burial ground was also used by the Christians. The excavations of the only Byzantine Church in this region, Hagia Trias, have, unfortunately, revealed no early Christian remains; see K. Kübler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1932, cols. 184 and 187.

<sup>20</sup> The temple of Hephaistos converted into a church of St. George (W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Supplement V, p. 11, with bibliography), and the so-called Μεγάλη Παναγία built into the library of Hadrian (A. Xyngopoulos, *Εὑρετήριον*, II, 88-89).

<sup>21</sup> See A. Mommsen's remarks (*Ath. Christ.*, pp. 99-100, note 2) on Pittakes' readings of Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1853, nos. 1599 and 1600.



Agora (below, No. 5). It may be suggested that the Christian tombstones found in this region once stood in the cemetery of St. Agathokleia.

The classification of the Christian tombstones according to the cemeteries to which they may have belonged is one of the features of Bayet's dissertation. Koumanoudes arranged the inscriptions which he published according to the alphabetical order of the names which occur on them, pointing out (Foreword, p. 7) that they contained for the most part neither ethnics nor demotics διὰ τὸ ἔχειν τοὺς χριστιανοὺς πατρίδα τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ.<sup>22</sup> The new *Corpus der Griechisch-Christlichen Inschriften* (see below, p. 24) has the same arrangement, but begins with the longer texts which contain imprecations and records of sale. Dittenberger, on the other hand, grouped together the inscriptions with the same formula (κοιμητήριον, οἰκητήριον, etc.). As the obvious result of this arrangement the predominance of the word κοιμητήριον is evident.

### III. KOIMHTHPION

Bayet has already called attention to the frequent occurrence of κοιμητήριον on Christian epitaphs (pp. 43-46), pointing out that the use of this word, meaning a single tomb, is restricted almost entirely to Thessaly, Attica, and Corinthia. Recent findings in these three regions tend to confirm his observations.<sup>23</sup> It should be noted, however, that κοιμητήριον occurs frequently on the Christian tombstones of Phrygia.<sup>24</sup> A single Christian epitaph from Spain begins with the word κυμετέριον.<sup>25</sup>

F. J. M. De Waele and N. A. Bees have devoted several pages to a thorough discussion of the history and usage of this term.<sup>26</sup> Bees claims that κοιμητήριον occurs also on pagan inscriptions in the meaning of burial place (*op. cit.*, p. 70), but the two examples which he cites are by no means certainly pagan.<sup>27</sup> The purely Christian

<sup>22</sup> The only supposedly Christian inscription containing a demotic was published by G. Lampakes, *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, I, 1892, p. 68. This inscription, however, is not a Christian epitaph, and it is now republished among the pagan documents (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6785); for the place of discovery of this stone, see A. Xyngopoulos, *Εὔρετήριον*, II, p. 108. For the occurrence and the meaning of πρεσβύτερος, see A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> See for example N. I. Giannopoulos, *Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* (abbreviated: *Ἑπετηρίς*), XII, 1936, pp. 401 and 403; *Corinth*, VIII, 1, pp. 93-101, nos. 137-154; *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, nos. 17, 31-34, 37, 39, 43, 45-47, 49, 51, 54, 62-65.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, W. M. Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, IV, 1883, pp. 407 (no. 23), 429 (no. 39), 430 (no. 40); *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II, pp. 530 (no. 376), 539 (no. 400), 558-559 (no. 445), 719 (no. 654), 720 (no. 655), 733 (no. 659); M. Ramsay, *Aberdeen Univ. Studies*, XX, 1906, p. 89, no. 58; W. M. Calder, *J.R.S.*, XIV, 1924, p. 87 (no. 5); W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder, C. W. M. Cox, *J.R.S.*, XVI, 1926, pp. 55 (no. 172), 57 (no. 175); W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae* (abbreviated: *M.A.M.A.*), VI, p. 86 (no. 232).

<sup>25</sup> C. Wessel, *Inscr. Gr. Christ. Vet. Occid.*, p. 18, no. 104; for coemeterium *T.L.L. s.v.*

<sup>26</sup> *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, pp. 38-39 and 68-72; compare also O. Merlier, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, pp. 233-234, and A. C. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity*, pp. 12, 16 and 20.

<sup>27</sup> *A.J.A.*, VII, 1903, p. 58, no. 36 = *Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 155; *Papers of the Am. School at*



character of this word, when used to signify a burial place, has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> "To the Christian," to use P. Gardner's words (*New Chapters*, p. 332), "the place of interment is no longer a tomb, but a sleeping place." The use of *κοιμητήριον* and coemeterium has a deep spiritual significance which is beautifully explained by Saint John Chrysostom in his sermon *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κοιμητηρίου* (J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XLIX, cols. 393-394). The pertinent passages may be quoted in full: *Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τόπος κοιμητήριον ὠνόμασται, ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι οἱ τετελευτηκότες καὶ ἐνταῦθα κείμενοι οὐ τεθνήκασιν, ἀλλὰ κοιμῶνται καὶ καθεύδουσιν. Πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς παρουσίας Χριστοῦ ὁ θάνατος θάνατος ἐκαλεῖτο. . . . ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ὑπὲρ ζωῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἀπέθανεν, οὐκέτι θάνατος καλεῖται λοιπὸν ὁ θάνατος, ἀλλὰ ὕπνος καὶ κοίμησις. . . . Ὅρα πανταχοῦ ὕπνον καλούμενον τὸν θάνατον· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ τόπος κοιμητήριον ὠνόμασται· χρήσιμον γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ φιλοσοφίας γέμον πολλῆς. Ὅταν τοίνυν ἄγῃς ἐνταῦθα νεκρόν, μὴ κατάκοπτε σεαυτὸν· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς θάνατον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὕπνον αὐτὸν ἄγεις. Ἀρκεῖ σοι τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα εἰς παραμυθίαν συμφορᾶς. Μάθε ποῦ ἄγεις· εἰς κοιμητήριον· καὶ πότε ἄγεις· μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον, ὅτε τὰ νεῦρα ἐξεκόπη τοῦ θανάτου.*

This sentiment, which might well have been expressed before Chrysostom, may have given rise to the use of the word *κοιμητήριον* on Christian tombstones. The epigraphical evidence tends to show that the use of *κοιμητήριον* for a single tomb prevailed in Greek lands about the time of Chrysostom, while it occurred in Egypt and in Phrygia as early as 250 A.D. (See W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II, p. 559). In contrast to the other words used for tomb (*τόπος*, *θήκη*, *μνημόριον*, *μνήμα*, and others), *κοιμητήριον* (and *οἰκητήριον*, *κατοικητήριον*) signifies a Christian burial.<sup>29</sup> If it is used also on Jewish stones, this only indicates a Christian influence.<sup>30</sup>

#### IV. FORMULAE

The majority of the Christian epitaphs from Attica, as already emphasized, begin with the word *κοιμητήριον* followed by the name of the deceased in the genitive. Some of these monuments record the death of only one person, while others are dedicated to the memory of husband and wife, whose names are connected by *καί*.<sup>31</sup> This close

*Athens*, III, 1884-1885, pp. 145-146, no. 250. For the pagan equation of death and sleep, see R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, p. 164.

<sup>28</sup> See W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II, pp. 488, 495, 515, 518 and 559, and A. C. Rush, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>29</sup> Compare Bees, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85; Rush, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>30</sup> See P. J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscr. Iud.* (abbreviated: *C.I.I.*), I, pp. 515-516, nos. 712 and 713 (*I.G.*, III, 3545 and 3546); compare Bees, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>31</sup> Several of these epitaphs omit the conjunction *καί*; see *I.G.*, III, 3518, Nos. II, XV. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7119 and 10934 may be Christian since no similar pagan inscriptions from Athens connect the names with *καί*; for the abbreviation of *καί* in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10934, see below, pp. 11-12.



association of married couples, even in death, seems to be distinctly Christian. Ordinarily, the husband's name is mentioned first, but the reverse order is also found, possibly indicating that the wife died first.<sup>32</sup> Two epitaphs, which contain the names of two men, indicate that father and son were also buried side by side.<sup>33</sup> There is one doubtful instance in which the death of two women is recorded on one and the same stone, with no indication of their mutual relationship (*I.G.*, III, 3480).

There is one example of a double tombstone on which two inscriptions are engraved by different hands (No. V). Similarly, a Megarian stone published by Bayet (no. 109 = *I.G.*, VII, 170-171) consists of two epitaphs.<sup>34</sup> In Attica there may be another example of such a double tombstone if Koumanoudes' text of *C.I.G.*, 965 (*op. cit.*, no. 3593 = Bayet, no. 104 = *I.G.*, III, 3457 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13240) can be trusted.<sup>35</sup> It may be noted, incidentally, that the use of double tombstones by the early Christians is not confined to Greece.<sup>36</sup>

The shortest Christian tomb inscriptions give merely the name of the deceased in the genitive. These should be distinguished from the otherwise similar pagan documents with the name in the nominative.<sup>37</sup> It is reasonable to assume that these genitives depend on the word *κοιμητήριον* which is implied. In another group, the old pagan formula *ἐνθάδε κέῖται* is used; a typically Christian variant of this phrase is *ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ* (see No. XIII).

Many of the pagan epitaphs, even of the latest period, contain the names of the father and the demotic or ethnic of the deceased, but the Christian inscriptions rarely mention father's name or ethnic.<sup>38</sup> No known Christian inscription contains a demotic; see note 22.

Numerous Christian epitaphs proudly record the occupation of the deceased, and thus are distinguished from the pagan stones which rarely mention occupations. From these tombstones we learn that the Christians of Athens were engaged in substantial

<sup>32</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3467, 3515 (see below, note 131); 3546 (Jewish); Nos. V and 17 below; compare note 33. For the common burial of husband and wife in pagan times, see Lattimore, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-250.

<sup>33</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3449 and No. 1. In another document (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 186, no. 53, fig. 76 = *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 303, no. 62), the names of two men (brothers, possibly twins, as Meritt suggests) have been restored, but the first name may equally well have been that of a woman: *Μελιτί[as]*; see the commentary on No. XXI. Normally the husband's name is mentioned first; compare however note 32. A tombstone from Megara (*I.G.*, VII, 174; see below, note 68) also contains the names of two men.

<sup>34</sup> Bees, *op. cit.*, p. 91, aptly remarks: in *I.G.*, III nicht vorhanden.

<sup>35</sup> See also the commentary on No. 3.

<sup>36</sup> See Bayet, p. 32; compare Jalabert and Mousterde, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, I, nos. 182, 188; II, no. 333; D. M. Robinson, *T.A.P.A.*, LVII, 1926, p. 198, nos. 2 and 3, and plate II, fig. 2.

<sup>37</sup> A single Christian epitaph (*Harmonia*, no. 30), which is now kept in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9984), has the name in the nominative.

<sup>38</sup> See, however, *I.G.*, III, 3483, 3529, 3547; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13216 and No. 26.

and necessary work. Bayet has already called attention to this fact, and he has listed the various professions that were known from the stones which he published (p. 38, note 5).<sup>39</sup> In addition to the occupations listed by Bayet, we know now that among the Christians of Athens there were also cutlers (No. XV), physicians (*I.G.*, III, 3482), coppersmiths,<sup>40</sup> and gravediggers.<sup>41</sup> The occupation of two other Christians is given as *σιρικάριος*.<sup>42</sup> We are unable to decide whether this term means here "silk-worker" or "silk-merchant"; in Constantinople, the guild of the *σηρικάριοι* included both clothiers and dyers.<sup>43</sup> It is interesting to see that Athens apparently participated in the imperial trade or manufacture of silk. Another epitaph records the death of Ioullianos of whom it is said: *τέχνης κεντητῆς [κ]αλῶς φρε[ν]ήσας*, "a man well skilled in the art of mosaics."<sup>44</sup> Another Christian was a maker of *πίνακες*, if our interpretation of the word *πενაკῶς* in *I.G.*, III, 3459 is correct; see below, note 107.

The most interesting of these documents mentioning occupations are the epitaphs of the members of the various grades of the clergy: they are, of course, without parallel among the pagan inscriptions. Bayet (p. 38, note 5) has already called attention to the offices of presbyter (see also No. 4), deacon, and reader (see also No. 5) which are recorded on Attic tombstones. In an inscription published below (No. 2) the office of subdeacon is mentioned for the first time in Athens.<sup>45</sup> Another epitaph (No. 5) records the death of Andreas, reader of the Church of St. Agathokleia. Readers are known from other epitaphs, none of which, however, mention the church with which they were associated.<sup>46</sup> It may now be presumed that each of the early Christian churches of Athens had its own reader. Other officials (subdeacons, deacons

<sup>39</sup> The evidence gathered by A. T. Geoghehan (*The Attitude towards Labor*, pp. 225-228) from the Latin inscriptions (mainly from Rome) could have been greatly augmented, had the author included in his study the inscriptions from Greece, and especially those from Athens.

<sup>40</sup> G. Lampakes, *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἐταιρείας*, II, 1894, p. 89; for the spelling *χαρκέ[ω]ς*, see below, note 125; compare J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *M.A.M.A.*, III, p. 150, no. 329.

<sup>41</sup> A. C. Chatses, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1925-1926, p. 97, fig. 2. The reading and restoration of this inscription are puzzling because of the occurrence of two peculiar letter forms, and because the cross above the preserved part of the text probably marked the center of the first line. We suggest restoring *θήκη Μενοί[--- δε]κανοῦ*. For the *δεκανοί*, gravediggers, see E. Hanton, *Byzantion*, IV, 1927-1928, pp. 72-74; *Sardis*, VII, 1, no. 173; N. A. Bees, *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, pp. 81-82.

<sup>42</sup> See the epitaph illustrated by G. A. Soteriou, *Εὔρετήριον*, I, p. 10, fig. 2 (spelled *σιρηκάριος*; see note 118) and No. VI; compare Bees, *op. cit.*, p. 62. A tombstone from Rome mentions a *σιρικοποιός*; see C. Wessel, *Inscr. Gr. Christianae Veteres Occidentis*, p. 27, no. 154.

<sup>43</sup> See R. S. Lopez, *Speculum*, XX, 1945, p. 8 and note 2.

<sup>44</sup> O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 262-263, fig. 88; compare N. Bees, *Byz. Jb.*, XIV, 1938, p. 292.

<sup>45</sup> See E. Hanton, *Byzantion*, IV, 1927-1928, p. 74; *Inscriptiones Creticae*, I, p. 32, no. 6 (*Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, II, 1916, p. 11); compare *Cambridge Medieval History*, I, p. 150.

<sup>46</sup> See E. Hanton, *Byzantion*, IV, 1927-1928, pp. 63-64; compare, however, the numerous examples quoted by F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 397, *s. v.* *ἀναγνώστης*.

and presbyters) may also have been attached to separate churches, all of whom were under the bishop (ἐπίσκοπος).<sup>47</sup>

The only Attic epitaph of an early Christian bishop (see above, p. 2) refers to the office of ἐπίσκοπος with a participle: ὁ ἐν ὁσίοις ἐπισκοπήσας Κλημάτιος. Attention should be called here to another Athenian epitaph which contains the participle περιοδεύσας. It was first published by Dittenberger in *I.G.*, III, 1375, later by N. A. Bees (*Rh. Mus.*, LXIX, 1914, pp. 744-746), without reference to the previous publication, and finally by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13167), who in turn referred only to Dittenberger. The stone is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9866). Bees, who alone gave the correct reading, interpreted περιοδεύσας as referring to the occupation of a physician, and this meaning of the verb is well attested. It is possible, however, that this participle may refer to the clerical office of περιουδευτής, which is mentioned in three inscriptions from Syria; see W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (1908), nos. 7, 288 and 336 a (?). Prentice remarked (*op. cit.*, p. 35) that the περιουδευτής was an ecclesiastical inspector with a rank intermediate between that of bishop and that of presbyter, who directed the erection of church buildings. It is possible, therefore, that the Attic inscription is Christian. In addition to the similarity in the participial construction of this inscription and of the bishop's epitaph the περιοδεύσας text resembles the early Christian inscriptions in several other respects. There is an abbreviation mark over the final omega of βροτῶ(ν) in line 1, and a leaf at the end of the last line (Bees failed to record these); see below, notes 69 and 98. The nu in lines 3, 4 and 5, and the rho in line 5 are similar to the corresponding letters of No. XII.

A feature common to the late pagan and early Christian epitaphs is the addition of threats or imprecations directed against those who might open and violate the grave.<sup>48</sup> This similarity in the formulae has led to considerable confusion in the publication and classification of the documents of this type.

The twenty pagan documents from Athens which contain threats or imprecations are published in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13209-13228 (*Tituli sepulcrales cum diris et poenarum sanctionibus*, *B. Monumenta reliqua*). Three of these (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13225, 13226, 13228) do not really belong to this group; three others (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13212, 13218, 13221) are not Attic, but were brought to the Piraeus from Perinthus, and the Attic origin of

<sup>47</sup> See *Cambridge Medieval History*, I, p. 149. For examples of deacons who were attached to particular churches, see F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, pp. 399 and 405, s. vv. διάκονος and πρεσβύτερος.

<sup>48</sup> For a discussion of curses found on Christian tombstones, see J. Merkel, *Über die sogenannten Sepulcralmulten*, pp. 40-42, 46-47; G. Millet, *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, pp. 65-66; N. I. Giannopoulos, *Ἐπετηρίς*, XII, 1936, p. 405; N. A. Bees, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33; compare also W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*<sup>3</sup>, p. 452, no. 265; Lattimore, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-118; D. M. Robinson, *Cl. J.*, XL, 1945, pp. 38-41. Special attention should be given in this connection to the edict of Augustus which protected tombs (*S.E.G.*, VIII, no. 13, with bibliography).



one (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13217) does not seem to be well attested.<sup>49</sup> Four of the remaining thirteen inscriptions (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13216, 13223, 13219, 13224) are, according to L. Robert,<sup>50</sup> either Christian, or belong to the end of the third or the fourth century after Christ. The Christian character of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13223 (E.M. 12592, according to our squeeze) was deduced from Kirchner's restoration  $\mu\eta\ \tau\omega\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omega[\iota\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu\ \delta\acute{o}\omega\iota\varsigma]$ , but this restoration is by no means certain. The letter forms of the inscription do not easily allow a date after the middle of the third century, and it does not seem certain, moreover, that this epigram belongs to a tomb monument. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13216 B and C has already been recognized as a Christian epitaph not only by Kirchner but also by Koumanoudes and by Bayet, who republished the text (no. 42); see, however, note 105. The date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13224 cannot be determined with accuracy unless it is possible to identify the master of Primos, Klematios, with the bishop Klematios whose tombstone was found in Athens.<sup>51</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13222 is a Christian epitaph (overlooked by Robert), as we have shown (No. IX). Robert suggested as date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13219 the end of the third century. We have been able to join this fragment with another which was originally thought to be Christian (No. XX). Robert, finally, called attention<sup>52</sup> to a Latin epitaph (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13213) of a Roman soldier, which contains a Greek subscript forbidding destruction of the tomb.<sup>53</sup> There are, therefore, only ten examples of pagan documents which certainly belong to this group,<sup>54</sup> to which may be added No. XIX of this publication.

It is interesting to note that all but two of the fourteen Attic Christian inscriptions which contain curses are introduced by conditional clauses, such as  $\epsilon\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\lambda\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$  (or  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\eta\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ ), or by corresponding relative pronouns.<sup>55</sup> The two remaining texts have participles instead of relative or conditional clauses.

A characteristic distinction between the pagan and Christian examples from Athens lies in the fact that most of the former impose fines upon the violator, while the latter generally exact other penalties.<sup>56</sup> Three epitaphs threaten the transgressor

<sup>49</sup> See L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, XVIII, 1944, pp. 38-40, 48; J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LVI, 1943, pp. 336-337, no. 18.

<sup>50</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>51</sup> See notes 8 and 9; compare note 125.

<sup>52</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 38, note 2.

<sup>53</sup> An examination of the squeeze reveals that the first preserved letter of the penultimate line is a lambda and not a mu. The restoration  $[\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \beta\omega]\mu\acute{o}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  should therefore be changed to  $[\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \tau\acute{\iota}\tau]\lambda\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ , which also better fills the available space; compare D. M. Robinson, *T.A.P.A.*, LVII, 1926, pp. 199 (no. 4) and 200 (No. 5); *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, no. 30, line 10. The Latin name in line 5 may be restored as [L. Alf]eius Maximus, with reference to another unpublished epitaph from Eleusis which was set up by the same man.

<sup>54</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13209-11, 13213-15, 13219 + *Harmonia*, no. 6 (= No. XX), 13220, 13224, 13227.

<sup>55</sup> Bayet, nos. 42, 60, 84; *I.G.*, III, 3509, 3543; Koumanoudes, *Ἀθήναιον*, IX, 1880, p. 171, no. 2; G. Lampakes, *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, I, 1892, p. 67; G. K. Zesios, *Σύμμικτα*, p. 13, note 1; Nos. IX, XII, XVI, and 15.

<sup>56</sup> See, however, Nos. XX and 15.



with the curse of Judas (*I.G.*, III, 1428; *Harmonia*, no. 1; G. K. Zesios, *Σύμμικτα*, p. 13, note 1). Two others warn the violator that he must make a reckoning before God (Koumanoudes, *Ἀθήναιον*, IX, 1880, p. 171, no. 2; *I.G.*, III, 3509) and one (Bayet, no. 42 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13216) mentions the wrath of God.

These various types of early Christian epitaphs in general continued the pagan tradition, and lasted from the fifth to the seventh centuries. At about the end of this period, two new formulae which had been employed only rarely in earlier times began to be used more and more frequently, and the older formulae disappeared completely.<sup>57</sup> A study of the terminology, therefore, tends to show that a break in the tradition occurred in the seventh century, rather than in the fourth century when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire.

## V. ABBREVIATIONS

The Attic inscriptions, in contrast to the Latin inscriptions, show in general but few abbreviations, most of them occurring in proper names and demotics.<sup>58</sup> The early Christian inscriptions from Athens use abbreviations sparingly. It is possible to distinguish two groups among them. Sacred names often appear with their first and last letters, or only with their initials.<sup>59</sup> In fact, the words *Θεός*, *Ἰησοῦς*, *Κύριος*, *Χριστός* are more often contracted than written out.<sup>60</sup>

The second group, more properly called abbreviations, contains words, the final syllables of which are omitted. The abbreviation is indicated by a line which intersects the last written letter, by a horizontal line above the last letter, or by the addition of a curved stroke resembling a Latin S.<sup>61</sup>

The most commonly abbreviated word is *καί*, often spelled *κέ*.<sup>62</sup> The earliest instance in Athens occurs in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4513, dated for prosopographical reasons at the end of the second century after Christ. Next may be mentioned *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10934, dated in the third century after Christ, but probably a Christian tombstone (see above, note 31). All the other inscriptions containing this abbreviation for *καί* are definitely

<sup>57</sup> These new formulae are *Κύριε βοήθει τοῦ δούλου σου* ---, and *ἐκοιμήθη* (or *ἐτελειώθη*) *ἐν Κυρίῳ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ* ---; see W. M. Calder, *J.R.S.*, X, 1920, p. 55.

<sup>58</sup> See W. Larfeld, *Handbuch*, II, 2, pp. 515-537.

<sup>59</sup> See *I.G.*, III, 3475, 3534 (restore the first line as *† X M[Γ †]*; cf. W. K. Prentice, *Cl. Phil.*, IX, 1914, pp. 410-416), 3535, 3536, 3544; Konstantinides, *Παρνασσός*, VI, 1882, p. 81, no. 1 (Bayet, no. 10; see above, note 7); *Harmonia*, no. 1; Nos. 31 and 33.

<sup>60</sup> See M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions, Quarterly of the Dep. of Ant. in Palestine*, Suppl. to Vol. IX, 1940, pp. 25-29.

<sup>61</sup> See Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-39.

<sup>62</sup> See Bilabel, *R.E.*, s. v. Siglae, cols. 2287 (lines 53-55), 2296 (lines 19-22), 2302 (lines 40-41); Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74, s. v. *καί*.

Christian.<sup>63</sup> In one instance, at least, the syllable *και* within the name *Νίκαιος* appears abbreviated.<sup>64</sup>

In this connection may be mentioned the ligature of omikron upsilon. This ligature is not an abbreviation, but its lack of occurrence among the pagan inscriptions may be significant.<sup>65</sup> Even on the early Christian inscriptions, this ligature is found but rarely.<sup>66</sup>

Special attention may be called to the abbreviations of the word *κοιμητήριον* which is so frequently used on the Attic stones. An unpublished epitaph from the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 2200) contains the shortest form *ΚΤ*, while another tombstone built into the East door of the Mount Lykabettos enclosure has *κοιμ(ητήριον)*.<sup>67</sup> Finally, the inscription republished below as No. XXII shows the more complete and customary form *κοιμητήρ(ιον)*.<sup>68</sup> In spite of its length, *κοιμητήριον* was rarely abbreviated, but filled in its entirety the first line of about half of all the epitaphs on which it occurs; see Bees, *op. cit.*, p. 38, note 2. If it was divided, either the last two syllables or the last syllable were written in a second line.

The other abbreviations which occur on the early Christian epitaphs from Athens can be easily paralleled from documents found elsewhere and dated in the fifth and later centuries.<sup>69</sup> Attention should also be called to the elision sign found in *I.G.*, III, 1387.

It is tempting to use this examination of the abbreviations in order to arrive at approximate dates for the early Christian epitaphs of Athens. The lettering alone

<sup>63</sup> See *I.G.*, III, 3444, 3451, 3459, 3524; *Harmonia*, no. 1; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1914, p. 166, no. 5 (see above, note 14); *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 186, no. 53 (= XI, 1942, p. 303, no. 62; see above, note 33); No. XII.

<sup>64</sup> See No. III; compare Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 23, notes 1 and 2.

<sup>65</sup> Larfeld, *op. cit.*, II, 2, pp. 513-515, nos. 44-49, gives a good idea of how this ligature developed. We have been unable to find an example of Larfeld's no. 49 among the pagan texts. His reference to *I.G.*, III, 14 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1089 seems to be mistaken; see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 82-83, no. 35, to which should be added an unpublished inscription from the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 2891) which joins the two fragments illustrated by Oliver.

<sup>66</sup> See *I.G.*, III, 3449, 3471, 3482, 3524; *Harmonia*, no. 7 (E.M. 678); *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1914, p. 166, no. 5 (see above, note 14); No. 5. In *I.G.*, III, 3449, the ligature occurs at the ends of lines 3-5, and was obviously used only in order to have the lines end with complete words. The ligature itself is simply a regular omikron upon which a small upsilon is placed. We should like to add to this list *I.G.*, III, 3446, assuming that the last letter of the first name is the ligature of omikron upsilon; the epitaph accordingly records the deaths of husband and wife, and not of two women; see above, notes 32 and 33.

<sup>67</sup> Lampakes, *Δελτίον Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.*, II, 1894, p. 89, no. 2; cf. Kent, *C.P.*, XLII, 1947, p. 64.

<sup>68</sup> An epitaph from Megara (Bayet, no. 115 = *I.G.*, VII, 174), now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9953), reads *κοιμητήρ(ιον)* followed by an abbreviation mark; the inscription begins and ends with a monogrammatic cross. The same abbreviation of *κοιμητήριον* is found on two stones from Corinth (*C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, nos. 46, 59).

<sup>69</sup> See *I.G.*, III, 1387, 3497, 3509 (the abbreviations occur in lines 2-3: *ἀναγν(ώστον)*; and 5: *ἡμῶ(ν)*; compare p. 9), 3511; G. K. Zesios, *Σύμμικτα*, p. 13, note 1; No. XX; No. 5.

helps very little since the lunate forms of epsilon, sigma, and omega are widely used after the middle of the second century after Christ. On the Christian inscriptions, the lunate forms predominate except for a few instances of square epsilon, sigma, and omega.<sup>70</sup> The real change in the letter forms seems to occur in the seventh century, when the script becomes taller, narrower, and more "Gothic."

The abbreviations, too, abound in the later period; they show a further development of the types used in the earlier texts together with the addition of many new ligatures.

Among the few dated inscriptions of the fifth and early sixth centuries, mention may be made of an Attic text of *ca.* 410 A.D. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4225, illustrated by J. Kirchner, *Imagines*, plate 54, no. 151), of an inscription from Sardis dated in 459 A.D. (*Sardis*, VII, 1, no. 18 and plate VI), of an epitaph from Corinth, convincingly dated in 514 A.D. (*C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, no. 41), and of a tombstone from Thessaly of *ca.* 540 A.D. (G. A. Soteriou, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1929, p. 7, fig. 6). The two documents from the Isthmos which belong to the time of Justinian (*C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, nos. 1 and 2) show few abbreviations; but the style of their lettering seems to us to be definitely later than that of the inscriptions with which we are dealing here. It is for this reason that we believe that the stones published and discussed here belong approximately to the fifth century after Christ.

## VI. SYMBOLS

The great majority of the early Christian epitaphs from Athens are adorned with symbols, such as crosses of various shapes, monograms, rosettes, and representations of birds and leaves. It may be useful to describe these symbols here and to discuss the frequency of their occurrence and the position they occupy on the stones.

The appearance of a cross or a Christian monogram on a tombstone reveals to us that the burial it commemorates was that of a Christian. It may be doubted, however, whether the symbol was originally put there for that purpose. The pagan epitaphs from Athens are entirely free of any symbols referring to religious affiliations, and the use of the cross by the Christians (and of the seven-branched candlestick by the Jews) was evidently introduced from abroad. Most of the epitaphs which are considered Christian have crosses, but the occurrence of the word *κοιμητήριον* (or of a similar term; see above, p. 6), the use of the genitive of the name (see above, p. 6) and of *καί* (see above, p. 6), and the mention of clerical ranks (see above, pp. 8-9) have also been taken as evidence of Christianity. The fragmentary state of most of the tombstones and our lack of acquaintance with the originals do not permit us to state definitely that any Christian epitaph of Athens lacked a Christian symbol, but attention may be called to at least three stones which may belong to this category. Two of these (*I.G.*, III, 3518 and 3519) are of the simplest type, containing only the

<sup>70</sup> See *I.G.*, III, 3520; *Harmonia*, no. 12 (illustrated Plate VIII E.M. 9973); Nos. XXII, 3, 5.



names in the genitive. The third (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 262-263, fig. 88) is very elaborate both in ornamentation and in the text of the inscription.<sup>71</sup>

The plain cross, in most instances consisting of two straight lines of equal length (Greek Cross), is found more often than any other Christian symbol. An examination of the more than two-hundred early Christian epitaphs from Attica reveals that this emblem occurs on more than one hundred stones. Very often the plain cross is placed at the beginning of the first line of the text, and it stands either inside or outside of the left margin of the inscription. On many stones the simple cross is found at the end of the last line.<sup>72</sup> It may be significant that in a number of completely preserved documents, the texts begin and end with simple crosses.<sup>73</sup>

On several stones, such crosses stand either above or below the inscription. Sometimes they stand alone, but in many instances they appear in groups of three.<sup>74</sup> This number may possibly have some relation to the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity. A Corinthian inscription (*C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, no. 7), which contains two references to the Trinity, has three (?) crosses at the top, but only two at the bottom. Two epitaphs illustrated by G. A. Soteriou, *Εὐπετήριον*, I, p. 10, fig. 2, are crowned, one by three Constantinian crosses (see below, p. 16), and one by a swastika flanked by two plain crosses (see below, p. 17).

In addition to the plain crosses, we also find a larger and more decorative type of incised cross. On eight of the early Christian epitaphs from Athens, this emblem stands above the inscription and above the center of the first line.<sup>75</sup> On three monuments, two incised crosses are engraved above the text.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> The first letters of lines 1-4 are missing and it may have been that a small and narrow cross was engraved at the beginning of the first or possibly the second line (see *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, no. 7, line 6). In fact, the second line, as restored now, would have had an uninscribed space in front of the name; we may, however, restore this name as [Εἰ]ουλλιανοῦ; see p. 20. The iota of τρ[ι]άκοντα should be restored at the end of line 3.

<sup>72</sup> On two epitaphs (*I.G.*, III, 3485 and *Harmonia*, no. 7), where the last line is shorter than the others, this line is flanked by crosses.

<sup>73</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3436, 3456, 3474; *Harmonia*, no. 1; Nos. IV, XV, 8, and one unpublished epitaph of the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 657).

<sup>74</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3443, 3459, 3465, 3470, 3525 (see below, p. 16 and note 85); J. Ch. Dragarses, *Παρνασσός*, VI, 1882, p. 252; *Harmonia*, no. 30 (now in the Epigraphical Museum, E.M. 9984); G. A. Soteriou, *Εὐπετήριον*, I, p. 56, fig. 43 (see below, p. 16); Nos. I and 25 (the third cross is restored); an unpublished epitaph of the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 2228). On an inscription of only one line (*I.G.*, III, 3503), Bayet (no. 34) restored crosses at the beginning and the end of the text, and between the two words. On an epitaph from Megara (Bayet, no. 112), there are three crosses both above and below the text.

<sup>75</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3521, 3529, 3538; *Harmonia*, no. 21; P. Kastriotis, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1914, p. 166, no. 4; O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 186, fig. 76 = XI, 1942, p. 103, no. 62; No. 19 (flanked by alpha and omega; see below, note 91); one unpublished epitaph of the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 2225).

<sup>76</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3448; Nos. XVIII and XXI. According to Bayet (no. 36, plate I, no. 9) there is an incised cross also at the bottom of *I.G.*, III, 3448. Bayet states (no. 60, plate III, 4) that



On three tombstones, the large incised cross is enclosed within a circle,<sup>77</sup> and the same emblem (in two instances with the monogrammatic cross) is found on an architectural block from the Isthmos and on two epitaphs from Asia Minor.<sup>78</sup>

The incised cross often occurs on Attic tombstones flanked by two ornamental leaves, which together with the cross fill the width of the stone;<sup>79</sup> but this design does not seem to occur elsewhere. Even more peculiarly Attic is the replacement of the leaves by the first word (or part of it) of the inscription. In two instances, the cross stands in the middle of the first line (Nos. 6 and 16); it is of course larger than the letters and therefore extends above the line. On two stones, the cross intersects not only the first line but the first three or four lines of the inscription.<sup>80</sup> One short text (*I.G.*, III, 3463) is engraved all around the upper part of a very large incised cross; see also p. 22. Finally, there may be mentioned two epitaphs with long and elaborate inscriptions which are engraved on both sides of similarly large incised crosses (No. 15 and *Harmonia*, no. 12, Plate VIII E.M. 9973).<sup>81</sup> This arrangement of the text around a large cross or a similar symbol is found frequently in the later Byzantine period, and the origin of this custom may be traced back to the inscriptions mentioned here.<sup>82</sup> From this it may be gathered that epitaphs like No. 15 belong to a somewhat later period than the other Christian epitaphs discussed here.

A number of stones are decorated with monogrammatic crosses and Constantinian monograms.<sup>83</sup> The rhos used in these symbols are either of the open or of the closed type.<sup>84</sup>

there was a similar design below *I.G.*, III, 3460. In discussing the puzzling marks at the bottom of *I.G.*, III, 3451, he observes (no. 40 and plate II, 9): "Apparet ad quartam lineam tenue crucis vestigium." In *I.G.*, III, 3468, a pair of these crosses flank, according to Bayet (no. 19 and plate II, 11), the one line of the epitaph; see also No. X. A single incised cross stands at the beginning of the first line of *I.G.*, III, 3444; compare *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, no. 30.

<sup>77</sup> *Harmonia*, nos. 11 and 22 (Plate X E.M. 9981); No. 33. On *Harmonia*, no. 22 and no. 33, the emblem is flanked by two birds; see below, note 96.

<sup>78</sup> See *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, no. 4; *T.A.P.A.*, LVII, 1926, plates III, fig. 4, and IV, fig. 5.

<sup>79</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3439, 3454 (hitherto not noticed), 3466, 3475 (see below, note 86), 3493, Nos. VIII (see below, note 86) and 9. On *I.G.*, III, 3443, this design occurs below the text (possibly with a simple cross). Above the text of *I.G.*, III, 3516 there are preserved a leaf and the left arm of a simple cross (unnoticed by Bayet, no. 74 and plate IV, 14); the first line of the inscription contained more than the word *τύνβ[ος]*, for the vertical bar of the cross (if the cross was placed symmetrically) probably stood above the last letter of this word.

<sup>80</sup> No. 11; G. A. Soteriou, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, II, 1916, p. 142, fig. 16. This latter epitaph was found on the north slope of the Areopagus and may, therefore, belong to the same cemetery as the stones from the Agora. If this should be the case, all but two epitaphs of this type belong to the same cemetery; see above, p. 3.

<sup>81</sup> On the front of *Harmonia*, no. 12, the names of the deceased were engraved within two large crosses; see below, p. 44.

<sup>82</sup> See *Harmonia*, nos. 37 and 38; *Εὐπετήριον*, I, p. 20, fig. 6 a; compare *Ἐπετηρίς*, VIII, 1931, pp. 244-246.

<sup>83</sup> See M. A. Frantz, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 10.

<sup>84</sup> See Frantz, *loc. cit.*, plate III, opposite p. 12.

The plain monogrammatic cross with the closed rho is found in *I.G.*, III, 3447, 3482, 3525,<sup>85</sup> 3531; *Harmonia*, no. 23; No. 29; on an unpublished epitaph of the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 402). N. Platon has recently asserted (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, II, p. 666) that the usage of this symbol is confined to the second half of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth. Simple monogrammatic crosses with the rho open and to the right are found on *Harmonia*, no. 7; G. A. Soteriou, *Εὐπετήριον*, I, p. 56, no. 43, and No. XXII. Two of the incised crosses which are flanked by leaves actually are in the shape of the monogrammatic cross of this type.<sup>86</sup> On three inscriptions, the open rho is to the left of the upper arm of the cross.<sup>87</sup> Two of these epitaphs are not completely preserved, and it is possible therefore, that the rho turned to the left was balanced by a rho turned to the right.<sup>88</sup>

The Constantinian monogram with the closed rho appears at the top of two epitaphs (*Harmonia*, no. 24 and No. VII), and on both inscriptions this symbol is flanked by alpha and omega.<sup>89</sup> The same monogram with the rho open occurs probably three times on a monument illustrated by G. A. Soteriou, *Εὐπετήριον*, I, p. 10, fig. 2. The central monogram is enclosed within a circle,<sup>90</sup> and the same ornament may be restored on *I.G.*, III, 3541.

The letters alpha and omega are found on seven of the early Christian epitaphs from Athens.<sup>91</sup> In two more inscriptions the order of these letters is reversed, with the possible meaning: "the end is the beginning."<sup>92</sup> Most peculiar, however, are the two epitaphs on which the letters occur apparently both in reversed order and upside down (*I.G.*, III, 3510 and No. III).

In discussing these various monograms, M. A. Frantz remarked (*loc. cit.*, p. 22) "that in Greece the use of the closed rho seems to be confined to private monuments, while the open rho is found in the pavement of the Byzantine Church of Hagios Georgios in Eretria, in the sculptures of the Asclepieum, as well as in other parts of Greece." On the Christian epitaphs from Athens, both open and closed rhos are found, not only in monogrammatic crosses, but also in Constantinian monograms.

<sup>85</sup> The central cross at the bottom of this inscription is drawn with double lines, which are filled out by cross lines, and it is flanked by omega and alpha; see below, note 92.

<sup>86</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3475 and No. VIII; compare *T.A.P.A.*, LVII, 1926, plate III, fig. 4; *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, no. 4.

<sup>87</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3484; No. 34; and an unpublished epitaph of the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 2202).

<sup>88</sup> Compare the epitaph from Vienna illustrated by M. A. Frantz, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 13, fig. 2.

<sup>89</sup> For a discussion of alpha and omega, see below.

<sup>90</sup> For a similar design, see D. M. Robinson, *T.A.P.A.*, LVII, 1926, p. 203, no. 12 and plate VII, fig. 12.

<sup>91</sup> Bayet, no. 60; *I.G.*, III, 1386, 3489, 3536; *Harmonia*, no. 12 (see Plate VIII E.M. 9973); Nos. VII and 19.

<sup>92</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3525 and *Harmonia*, no. 22 (see Plate X E.M. 9981); compare Swoboda, Keil and Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien*, p. 21, no. 32, and *M.A.M.A.*, I, no. 324.

The swastika is found only once, so far as we know, on a Christian epitaph from Athens.<sup>93</sup> The design stands at the top of the inscription, and it is flanked by two crosses (see above, p. 14). This ancient oriental symbol occurs frequently on Christian monuments of a small region of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Isauria.<sup>94</sup>

The rosette, a favorite Greek ornament, is found at the bottom of No. III, and in the gable of the Jewish epitaph, *I.G.*, III, 3545. This ornament occurs more frequently in decorative art and on inscriptions of the Byzantine period.<sup>95</sup>

Some Christian epitaphs from Attica are adorned with representations of birds. In two instances, a pair of birds flank an incised Greek cross.<sup>96</sup> The design may be compared with the central part of the relief from Ravenna, illustrated by G. W. Elderkin, *Kantharos*, plate VIII (opposite p. 41). At the bottom of another inscription (No. X), two birds stand on either side of a vessel from which a branch extends. The same design is found on a somewhat later Attic relief; see A. Orlandos, *Εὐρετήριον*, III, p. 197, fig. 262. On the inscription published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 262-263, fig. 88, a single bird is represented "pecking at a large leaf" (Broneer), but this leaf may actually be a rough drawing of a vessel.

Both on the Attic relief (*Εὐρετήριον*, III, p. 197, fig. 262) and on the relief from Ravenna (Elderkin, *op. cit.*, plate VIII), branches with grapes grow out of a crater.<sup>97</sup> It is interesting, therefore, to find the representation of a bunch of grapes at the lower right corner of an early Christian epitaph from Athens (*I.G.*, III, 3525).

Incised leaves appear frequently on Attic inscriptions, both pagan and Christian, of this period.<sup>98</sup> The incised cross flanked by two leaves is a favorite design which occurs not only at the top of a great number of Attic epitaphs (see notes 77 and 84) but also as an architectural ornament.<sup>99</sup> There is an elaborate floral design below the text of *I.G.*, III, 3523, and the inscription of *I.G.*, III, 3544 is flanked by two leaves. Two closely joined leaves stand at the top of *I.G.*, III, 3484.

On the Jewish epitaphs from Athens, the seven-branched candlestick replaces the

<sup>93</sup> See G. A. Soteriou, *Εὐρετήριον*, I, p. 10, fig. 2. The significance of the hole near the bottom of the front face of this stone is discussed by G. A. Soteriou, *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, X, 1933-1934, p. 179. The swastika was also used as an ornament for an early Christian church of Athens; see A. Xyngopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1915, p. 58, fig. 9.

<sup>94</sup> See A. M. Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, XXIV, 1904, pp. 260-292; *Aberdeen Univ. Studies*, XX, 1906, p. 33.

<sup>95</sup> See *Harmonia*, no. 36, and *Εὐρετήριον*, I, p. 20, fig. 6 a, and p. 58, fig. 45.

<sup>96</sup> *Harmonia*, no. 22 (Plate X E.M. 9981) and No. 33.

<sup>97</sup> Compare also *M.A.M.A.*, VI, plate XXVIII, no. 160.

<sup>98</sup> Single leaves are found below the last line of two inscriptions (*I.G.*, III, 3537 and No. XIII) and at the end of the last line of eight others (*I.G.*, III, 3510, 3527; *Harmonia*, nos. 11 [= E.M. 9999] and 29 [= E.M. 9978]; *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, II, 1916, p. 142; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 262-263, fig. 88; Nos. VII and XX). The leaf at the bottom of No. XXI was probably balanced by another at the right.

<sup>99</sup> See, for example, *Εὐρετήριον*, I, p. 38, fig. 20; *M.A.M.A.*, VI, plate 68, no. 386.



cross. In addition to the stones already recognized as Jewish,<sup>100</sup> we may list *I.G.*, III, 3596, which shows traces of the base of a seven-branched candlestick above the inscription.<sup>101</sup> The same symbol is found at the bottom of another Attic epitaph (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10949), which Kirchner recognized as Jewish.

Only one of these Jewish stones has any additional symbols. On *I.G.*, III, 3546, there is incised to the left of the candlestick a trumpet and to the right a palm tree.<sup>102</sup>

## VII. SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION

A change in spelling, or a consistent and widespread misspelling, may be taken as an indication of a change or shift in pronunciation. This general rule is confirmed by the peculiar spellings found among the early Christian inscriptions from Athens.

It is now commonly assumed that from about 150 A.D. "the pronunciation of *αι* as *ε* became established in the speech of the educated people."<sup>103</sup> Among the Christian inscriptions, which belong, for the most part, to the fifth century, we counted 35 occurrences of the spelling *καί*, compared with only 20 of the more phonetic spelling *κέ*. This should be taken as evidence that the "correct" spelling of *καί* was well known in early Christian times. On the other hand, there are six examples of *κῆτε* (for *κείται*) and two of *κῆμε* (for *κείμεναι*), compared with one occurrence each of *κείται* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13216 B = Bayet, no. 42; Christian? see p. 10), *κῆται* (*I.G.*, III, 3525), and *κείμεναι* (*I.G.*, III, 3527).<sup>104</sup>

Final *-αι*, both in the infinitive and in the third person singular, is written as epsilon in six instances.<sup>105</sup> Mention may also be made of the phonetic spellings which occur in *I.G.*, III, 3536 and in Nos. XV and XXIII, but in all these cases the number of examples is too small to allow generalizations. It may be significant, however, that the name *Ἀθήναιος* is spelled *Ἀθήνεος* in all three instances in which it occurs.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>100</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3545 and 3546 = *C.I.I.*, I, 712 and 713; see above, note 30. Compare also *Antioch*, II, p. 150, no. 24.

<sup>101</sup> Compare W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II, p. 651, no. 561; W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, *M.A.M.A.*, VI, p. 119, no. 347.

<sup>102</sup> This epitaph was included in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, I (no. 713) by P. J.-B. Frey, but the trumpet at the left is mistakenly represented in the illustration as another palm tree. Representations of trumpets, candlesticks, and palm trees are often found on Jewish epitaphs; see *C.I.I.*, I, nos. 200, 283, 343, 374, 382, 416, 479, 499, 519, 523, 600, 646, 647, 648, 652, 657, 671. For the representation of a palm tree on a Christian epitaph, see *M.A.M.A.*, VI, plate 39, no. 221.

<sup>103</sup> E. Sturtevant, *Pronunciation*, p. 142; compare the evidence presented by K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 34-35; W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (1908), p. 350 (Orthographical and Grammatical Index); H. J. Leon, *T.A.P.A.*, LVII, 1927, pp. 210-233; P. Chantraine, *The Link*, I, 1938, pp. 7-10.

<sup>104</sup> See also below, the discussion of itacism, pp. 18-20.

<sup>105</sup> Two of these occur on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13216 C (Bayet, no. 42), and we wonder whether this inscription (C) is part of the same epitaph as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13216 B which contains the "correct" spelling *κείται* (see above, p. 10).

<sup>106</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3454, 3545, No. X; compare *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, no. 46.

As should be expected, *αι* is mistakenly written instead of *ε* in several inscriptions which are mentioned by Meisterhans (see above, note 103); to these may be added Nos. I and VII of this publication. Rather peculiar are three inscriptions in which epsilon or alpha iota apparently replaced iota or an equivalent vowel.<sup>107</sup>

The confusion of the vowels *ει*, *η*, *ι*, *οι* and *υ*, commonly called itacism, is of a much later date than the documents with which we are dealing, and this fact is clearly shown by the evidence presented here.

The word *κοιμητήριον* which occurs so often on the Christian epitaphs from Athens is correctly spelled on 32 inscriptions while the spelling with upsilon instead of omikron iota occurs on 36 stones.<sup>108</sup> This again shows that the "correct" spelling was well remembered by the Christian Athenians of the fifth century. It seems significant that the two etas in *κοιμητήριον* or *κυμητήριον* were only rarely replaced by iotas.<sup>109</sup>

In addition to the substitution of upsilon for omikron iota found in the spelling of *κοιμητήριον*, there are four instances in which various forms of the verb *ανοίγω* (for classical *ανοίγνυμι*) are spelled with upsilon,<sup>110</sup> and one example of the spelling *υκητήριον* (*I.G.*, III, 3504). On the other hand, there is but one case in which omikron iota is written instead of upsilon.<sup>111</sup>

It is not surprising that there are very few instances in which iota (or eta) was written instead of upsilon (or omikron iota).<sup>112</sup> In two inscriptions upsilon stands for iota (or eta).<sup>113</sup>

It is a well-known fact that the diphthong *ει* was equated and confused with iota long before the beginning of our era.<sup>114</sup> This statement is borne out by the evidence collected from the Christian epitaphs. There are eleven examples of the spelling *κίτε* (*κίται*, *κίμε*, *κατάκιτε*, *κατοικί*), but only one of *κέμμαι* (*I.G.*, III, 3527).<sup>115</sup> Many other words which occur only once or twice show the same shift in spelling.<sup>116</sup> The change from eta to iota occurred later and does not seem to be as well established by the fifth

<sup>107</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3459 (*πενაკᾱ* may be the genitive of *πενάκῃς* meaning "maker of *πίνακες*"; see above, p. 8), 3533; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13224 (see above, p. 10), No. 31.

<sup>108</sup> See Sturtevant, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, p. 59, note 502.

<sup>109</sup> See below, p. 20. Aside from the inscriptions in which the word is incompletely preserved, we noticed only one example of *κοιμητήριον* (*I.G.*, III, 3473), three of *κυμητήριον*, and five of *κυμητήριον*; see also No. 18.

<sup>110</sup> *I.G.*, III, 1428; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13216 C; *Harmonia*, no. 1; G. K. Zesios, *Σύμμικτα*, p. 13, note 1.

<sup>111</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3436; see Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>112</sup> See the spellings *μυλινάριον* (G. Lampakes, *Δελτ. τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ.*, I, 1892, p. 67) and *Βηζάντιος* (*I.G.*, III, 3483). A Megarian inscription (Bayet, no. 114, apparently not reprinted in *I.G.*, VII) has the doubtful spelling *κιμητήριον*; compare No. XIV.

<sup>113</sup> See No. 15. An unpublished epitaph in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 403) contains the word *[μ]υστύριον*.

<sup>114</sup> See Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-56; Sturtevant, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-131.

<sup>115</sup> For *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13216 B, see note 105.

<sup>116</sup> *ι* for *ει*: S. A. Koumanoudes, *Ἀθήναιοι*, IX, 1880, p. 171, no. 2; G. Lampakes, *Δελτ. τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ.*, I, 1892, p. 67. *ις* for *εις*: G. K. Zesios, *Σύμμικτα*, p. 13, note 1. For other examples, see *I.G.*, III, 3457, 3535; Bayet, no. 114 (Megara); *Harmonia*, no. 1; Nos. IX and 5.

century. We have already noticed (see note 109) that the two etas in *κοιμητήριον* or *κνμητήριον* were but rarely replaced by iotas,<sup>117</sup> and the other instances of this substitution are both small in number and occur in unusual words.<sup>118</sup> On the other hand, there are quite a few examples of the reverse substitution of epsilon iota and of eta for iota, but none of them is in any way unusual.<sup>119</sup>

A few words may be added concerning a small number of peculiar usages of the vowels, omikron, omikron upsilon, upsilon, and omega. Most of these can be explained by similar occurrences which have already been noted. In No. 15, *τιμωρίαν* is spelled *τιμουρίαν*, and the same substitution occurs in an unpublished text (E.M. 2221: *ἰδραγούγον*).<sup>120</sup> In the same No. 15, we read *χρούσινα* for *χρύσινα*, and this change, too, is found elsewhere.<sup>121</sup> Omega and omikron are confused in several documents.<sup>122</sup> In one inscription (No. II) *Σώλου* is written for *Σαύλου*, and this spelling may be compared with that of *Σωφήςιος* for *Saufei* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3897). The change from omikron to epsilon, which is found in two instances,<sup>123</sup> has been noticed elsewhere.<sup>124</sup>

In the use of consonants we have noticed particularly the change from lambda to rho which occurs too frequently to be a mere mistake.<sup>125</sup> In five inscriptions double consonants are written with a single letter,<sup>126</sup> and in one epitaph we read [*Ι*]ουλλιανοῦ (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 262-263) instead of [*Ι*]ουλιανοῦ; see also note 71.

Among the peculiarities in declension, there is only one which is significant enough to deserve a detailed discussion. Both Bayet and Meisterhans have already noted<sup>127</sup> that several proper names (and at least one noun) ending in *-ης* have their genitive in *-η* instead of *-ου*. The same observation has been made also by N. Bees who collected (*C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, p. 111; see also pp. 76, 78, 79, 112) the various occur-

<sup>117</sup> We counted only nine examples.

<sup>118</sup> For *σηρικάριος* we read once *σιρικάριος* (*I.G.*, III, 3513) and once *σιρηκάριος* (*Εὐρετήριον*, I, p. 10, fig. 2). The name *Εὐφήςιος* (or *Εὐφημία*) is misspelled twice (*I.G.*, III, 3445 and 3455), and *Δημήτριος* once (*I.G.*, III, 3476 = Bayet, no. 70; the reading should be *Διμητρί*---). *ἔχη* is spelled twice *ἐχι* (Bayet, no. 106; No. IX) and we found once the spelling *γαμικίς* for *γαμικῆς* (*I.G.*, III, 3483). Compare E. Nachmanson, *Eranos*, XXXVIII, 1940, pp. 108-109, 118.

<sup>119</sup> *ει* for *ι*: Bayet, no. 10 (see note 7); *I.G.*, III, 1387, 3436, 3458, 3527; No. XX. *ει* for *η*: *I.G.*, III, 3504. *η* for *ι*: *I.G.*, III, 3459, 3509; G. K. Zesios, *Σύμμικτα*, p. 13, note 1; *Εὐρετήριον*, I, p. 10, fig. 10 (*bis*). *η* for *ει*: *I.G.*, III, 3459; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13216 C = Bayet, no. 42.

<sup>120</sup> See E. Schwyzler, *Grammatik*, p. 185, Zusatz 1. The genitive [*Ιε*]ρικλέως is found on *I.G.*, III, 3520.

<sup>121</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13224 (compare notes 51 and 125) and Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, p. 30, note 155.

<sup>122</sup> See Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, note 128.

<sup>123</sup> No. VII and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 262-263.

<sup>124</sup> See Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23; Schwyzler, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-355.

<sup>125</sup> To the collection of Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, p. 83, note 713, may be added *I.G.*, III, 3486 (*Φλεβοναρίω*), G. Lanipakes, *Δελτ. τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχ.* Έτ., II, 1894, p. 89 (*χαρκέως*; see above, note 40), G. K. Zesios, *Σύμμικτα*, p. 13, note 1 (*τορμήση*). The various peculiarities in spelling which appear in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13224 tend to confirm our assumption that this is a Christian epitaph (see note 51).

<sup>126</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3443, 3449 (see below, note 131), 3458 (see below, note 133); Nos. IX and 9.

<sup>127</sup> *De Titulis*, p. 66, in the commentary on no. 2; *op. cit.*, p. 120, no. 9.



rences of the genitive Ἀνδρέα and Ἀνδρέου. An explanation of this irregularity was offered by E. Schwyzler (*op. cit.*, p. 561) who stated that these genitives were derived according to the rule "Gen. = Nom. minus *s*."

The Attic epitaphs which we have examined supply the following evidence in support of these general observations.

The regular form Ἀνδρέου occurs not only on *I.G.*, III, 3449 and *Harmonia*, no. 10 (E.M. 9972),<sup>128</sup> but also on Nos. 4 and 5. The genitive Ἀνδρέα, on the other hand, is found not only on *I.G.*, III, 3456,<sup>129</sup> but also on No. 3 and in three unpublished inscriptions in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 402, 2221, 3425 + 4753). It also occurs in the epitaph published by G. A. Soteriou, Ἀρχ. Δελτ., II, 1916, p. 142, fig. 16.<sup>130</sup> The same form of the name should be restored in *I.G.*, III, 3515,<sup>131</sup> and, possibly, in 3473.<sup>132</sup>

The name Ioannes which occurs on the Attic epitaphs almost as frequently as Andreas has also two forms for the genitive (Ἰωάννου, Ἰωάννη), corresponding exactly to Ἀνδρέου and Ἀνδρέα. The regular form Ἰωάννου is found on *I.G.*, III, 3449,<sup>133</sup> 3458, 3486, 3503, 3505.<sup>134</sup> 3535; No. XVII. The form Ἰωάννη, on the other hand, occurs on only two inscriptions (Bayet, no. 10 [see note 7]; No. 9), but the use of this genitive form is also confirmed by the genitives Ἐπιφάνη (*I.G.*, III, 3459), Ἑρμῇ (*I.G.*, III, 3519),<sup>135</sup> Θεοκράτη (S. A. Koumanoudes, Ἀθήναιον, IX, 1880, p. 171, no. 2), Πασικράτη (*I.G.*, III, 3464) and οἰκαίτη (No. VI).<sup>136</sup>

Faulty forms are rare among the Christian epitaphs from Athens. We noticed only the dative μελλόντοις (*Harmonia*, no. 1) for μέλλουσι.

### VIII. GUIDE LINES

Many of the Attic Christian inscriptions are cut between thin guide lines. It is obvious that these lines were drawn across the face of the stone before the inscription was engraved. Such guide lines are well known from the Attic dedicatory and funer-

<sup>128</sup> These two Attic examples are mentioned by Bees who also listed two texts (*I.G.*, III, 3480 and 3516) in which the name is incompletely preserved and the genitive ending cannot be restored with certainty.

<sup>129</sup> This is the only Attic text listed by Bees.

<sup>130</sup> The second line of this inscription should be restored as [Ἀν]δρέα μικ[ροῦ]; compare *I.G.*, III, 3486, and F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. μικρός.

<sup>131</sup> The second and third lines are apparently a later addition, and the whole text should be restored as [τό]πος Ἐλπι[δίας (?)] | καὶ Ἀγ[δ]ῖ|ρέα. It seems that Elpidia died before her husband; see also note 32.

<sup>132</sup> An examination of the squeeze shows that only one letter is missing in the third line, but this space may have been filled by the ligature of omikron and upsilon; see above, note 66.

<sup>133</sup> The name is completely preserved and is spelled Ἰωάν|ον; see above, note 126.

<sup>134</sup> The restoration of lines 2-3 as [Ἰω]ά[ν]νον is possible, but uncertain.

<sup>135</sup> The inscription may read Ἑρμῇ καὶ Φιλίν(ν)ας.

<sup>136</sup> See Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, p. 120, note 101.

ary inscriptions of the sixth and early fifth centuries before Christ.<sup>187</sup> No special investigation of the occurrence of these guide lines among the later Attic inscriptions seems to have been made thus far, and a few examples taken from the early Christian documents may, therefore, be listed and discussed here.

The guide lines which occur on *I.G.*, III, 3462, 3463 and VII, 170-171 have been illustrated in the *Corpus* and by Bayet (plate II, 1 and plate IV, 2). In *I.G.*, III, 3462, the guide lines are *ca.* 0.034 m. apart, and the inscription is neatly engraved between these lines. In *I.G.*, III, 3463, the stonecutter not only drew thin guide lines (also 0.034 m. apart), but he also drew thin lines which guided him in the engraving of the large incised cross; compare also E.M. 9973 illustrated on Plate VIII. It appears, moreover, that the cross of *I.G.*, III, 3463 was cut before the inscription was engraved, but after the guide lines for the inscription were drawn. This is made clear by the fact that lines 1 and 4 were engraved with little regard for the guide lines, but with respect to the already incised cross; see above, p. 15.

In addition to the examples already mentioned, eleven more of the early Christian epitaphs from Athens show the use of guide lines.<sup>188</sup> The two preserved guide lines of *I.G.*, III, 3476 are *ca.* 0.027 m. apart, and they stand above and below the second line of the text. In *I.G.*, III, 3488, there is a set of two guide lines (*ca.* 0.017 m. apart) drawn *ca.* 0.02 m. below the inscription, the letters of which are *ca.* 0.024 m. high. It seems that these guide lines have never been used.<sup>189</sup> In *I.G.*, III, 3492, there are four guide lines, *ca.* 0.021 m. apart. One thin line intersects the first line of the text, slanting upward to the right. It seems that the stonecutter drew this line first and then abandoned it. The inscription of *I.G.*, III, 3534 is engraved between guide lines which are 0.034 m. apart; this is noteworthy because the same distance between guide lines has been observed on *I.G.*, III, 3462, 3463, and on No. 26 of this publication. On *Harmonia*, no. 11 there are three guide lines; the second is *ca.* 0.037 m. below the first, and the third is *ca.* 0.031 m. below the second. The five guide lines which appear on a Jewish inscription from Athens (*I.G.*, III, 3545) are *ca.* 0.025 m. apart.

## IX. SHAPE OF THE STONES

In addition to borrowing many of the old pagan formulae for their epitaphs, the Christians of Athens also used the same types of monument. Most of the Christian

<sup>187</sup> See W. Larfeld, *Handbuch*, I, pp. 204-205 (Richtlinien); *Griech. Epigraphik*, p. 130; A. Rehm, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, I, p. 216, note 2; A. E. Raubitschek, *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, pp. 58-59; W. Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, p. 21 and plate 7.

<sup>188</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3476, 3488, 3492, 3534; *Harmonia*, nos. 11 and 22 (Plate X E.M. 9981); Nos. XIV, XXI, XXIII, 21, 26, 27, and 30; compare also the Jewish inscription, *I.G.*, III, 3545.

<sup>189</sup> Similarly in *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, no. 44, the inscription is engraved between pairs of thin guide lines (*ca.* 0.018 m. apart, with an intermediary distance of *ca.* 0.009 m.), which also cover the uninscribed lower portion of the stone, as has been noticed by A. N. Skias, *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1893, col. 127, no. 22; see above, note 11.

inscriptions are engraved on thin stone plaques, commonly called *cippi*.<sup>140</sup> These plaques were well known in pagan times, and a fine example is illustrated by J. Kirchner, *Antike*, XV, 1939, p. 95, fig. 11. In order to make clear the frequency of the use of plaques for Christian graves, a list of the known examples may be given here.<sup>141</sup>

Besides these comparatively thin *cippi*, thicker stones, or pillars, were also used. The monuments included in this group vary in height, and their thickness is always more than one third of their width; some of them are almost square. This shape of stone was used less frequently than the plaques; a list of the known examples is given below.<sup>142</sup>

A number of Christian epitaphs are engraved on small columns, the so-called *columellae* or *κινύσκοι*. The early history of this type of grave monument has been outlined by J. Kirchner, *Antike*, XV, 1939, pp. 94-95. The examples from the Christian period show both the continuity of the ancient form, and its acceptance by the members of the new faith. The known examples are listed below.<sup>143</sup>

The Christians of Athens not only copied the style of the pagan monuments, but, in several instances, they used for their own epitaphs stones which had once marked the graves of pagans. The columnar grave monuments published below (Nos. 8 and 12) are good examples of this reuse. The pagan inscriptions of these epitaphs were engraved *ca.* 100 B.C.; thus more than five-hundred years passed before the stones were reused. A survey of the Christian epitaphs from Athens reveals that several others are engraved on stones which had been used previously, perhaps as tombstones.<sup>144</sup> Only one Christian tombstone (*I.G.*, III, 3521) was reused to serve again

<sup>140</sup> This word indicates the simplest type of *lapis sepulchralis*. Apparently the use of *cippi* in ancient times was not affected by the legislation of Demetrios in 317 B.C., for they are not mentioned by Cicero in his account of that law (*De Legibus*, II, 26), and we have, of course, many examples of *cippi* which date both before and after that year. For a further discussion on the law of Demetrios, see *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 144-165; *A.J.A.*, XLVIII, 1944, p. 239, note 16.

<sup>141</sup> *Harmonia*, nos. 1, 7, 12 (Plate VIII E.M. 9973), 14, 18 + 33 + E.M. 9975 (see above, note 12), 22 (Plate X E.M. 9981), 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34; Nos. XII, XV, XVIII, XX (Christian?), XXI, XXII, XXIII, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10 (reused, see below, note 145), 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 (reused, see below, note 145), 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 (reused, see below, note 145), 27 (reused, see below, note 145), 29, 30 (reused, see below, note 145), 31, 33, 34. Neither Bayet nor Dittenberger recorded the thickness of the stones which they published, and none of them is therefore listed here; see notes 142 and 143.

<sup>142</sup> *Harmonia*, nos. 11, 21, 24; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 186, no. 53; VII, 1938, pp. 262-263; XIII, 1944, pp. 252-253, no. 19; Nos. VII, XIII, XIV, XVII, 1, 2, 6, 28 (reused, see below, note 145). For the omission of the inscriptions published by Bayet and Dittenberger, see notes 141 and 143.

<sup>143</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3441, 3460, 3465, 3474, 3506, 3518, 3523, 3527; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1914, p. 166, no. 4; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11782, 12825, 13216 (reused, see below, note 144); Nos. 8 (reused, see below, note 144), 12 (reused, see below, note 144) and 13. Dittenberger's terminology (*columna*, *columna rotunda*, *columella rotunda*) is sometimes misleading.

<sup>144</sup> In addition to the columnar grave monuments mentioned above (Nos. 8 and 12), here may be listed *I.G.*, III, 3445, 3453; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3283 c, 7119 (see above, note 31), 13216 (columnar grave



for a Christian grave (*I.G.*, III, 3522). Several other Christian monuments had been previously used as architectural blocks, or as marble roof tiles.<sup>145</sup>

Several Christian epitaphs are engraved on stones which are sometimes called *basis*, sometimes *epistylum*.<sup>146</sup> It may be that this group of monuments should be classified as *mensae* or *τράπεζαι*; see J. Kirchner, *loc. cit.*, p. 95.

## X. THE CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM GRAECARUM CHRISTIANARUM

In spite of the great interest in the early history of Eastern Christianity, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Christianarum* has made little progress since the work was so auspiciously announced by Théophile Homolle (*B.C.H.*, XXII, 1898, pp. 410-415; compare Bees, *op. cit.*, pp. viii-ix). The publication of the Christian inscriptions from Egypt and Asia Minor deserves special mention, but the mainland of Greece and the Greek islands have been greatly neglected.<sup>147</sup> Quite recently, Johannes Kirchner announced in the preface of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, pars tertia, fasciculus posterior (1940), p. 5: Titulos sepulcrales Christianos in Attica repertos, quos G. Dittenberger operi suo inseruit, ab hac sylloge abalienavimus. Christianas inscriptiones, quotquot prodierunt, Johanne Lietzmann et Georgio Soteriu moderantibus opere peculiare editum iri sciendum est. The first fascicule of the *Corpus der Griechisch-Christlichen Inschriften von Hellas* (abbreviated: *C.G.-C.I.*), edited by N. A. Bees and comprising about half of the inscriptions from the Isthmos and from Corinth, appeared in 1941. In the preface (p. ix) Bees announced that the documents from Attica and Salamis are to be published as the third volume of this series. In the meantime, we may be permitted to offer some corrections of inscriptions already published, and to present most of the early Christian texts which were found during the Agora excavations. We wish to thank Professor Henri Grégoire for help in the interpretation of some of the more difficult of these. Professor William K. Prentice offered many valuable corrections and suggestions. We are also grateful to Professors Harald Ingholt and George Soteriou who kindly read the manuscript.

## XI. COMMENTS ON THE PUBLISHED TEXTS

In the following account a discussion of some already known inscriptions (Roman numerals) precedes the publication of the recently found documents from the Agora (Arabic numerals).

monument, see above, note 143); 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1925-1926, p. 97, fig. 2 (engraved on the back of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1806 a; see above, notes 16 and 41) and No. VII.

<sup>145</sup> *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 265, no. 19; Nos. 10 (plaque, see above, note 141), 26 (plaque, see above, note 141), 27 (plaque, see above, note 141), 28 (pillar, see above, note 142), 30 (plaque, see above, note 141) and 32; see also note 18.

<sup>146</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3452, 3456, 3457 (= *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13240; double tombstone), 3468, 3503, 3520 (*in parte sarcophagi*), 3524 (?), 3534 (?), 3535 (?), 3536 (?) and No. V (double tombstone).

<sup>147</sup> See the useful bibliographical summary given by Jalabert and Mouterde, in Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, VII, 1, cols. 624-625 and 692-693.

**I** (Plate I). *I.G.*, III, 3437 should be joined to *I.G.*, III, 3481 *b*. Fragment *a* (*I.G.*, III, 3437) is part of a plaque of Pentelic marble; place and date of discovery are unknown. The fragment is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9870). To the bibliography given in *Inscriptiones Graecae* there may be added Bayet, no. 51, and plate 4, no. 8. Fragment *b* (*I.G.*, III, 3481 *b*), a fragment of Pentelic marble, of unknown provenience, is also in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 2252), and was also published by Bayet, no. 55.

Frag. *a*                      Frag. *b*

Κοιμη[τ]ήριον[ν]  
Εὐτυχον  
[καί] Ἀλαί  
ξ[ά]νδρας.  
† † [†]

Fragment *b* was originally combined with the fragment now published as *I.G.*, III, 3481 *a*. This combination was made by Bayet (*B.C.H.*, II, 1878, p. 164, note 1), who based his suggestion on a copy of Fragment *b* which he found in his notebook. A comparison of the squeezes of *I.G.*, III, 3481 *a*, 3481 *b*, and 3437 clearly shows that *I.G.*, III, 3481 *b* joins *I.G.*, III, 3437 and has nothing to do with *I.G.*, III, 3481 *a*.

The original width of the plaque may be estimated by a study of the crosses which appear at the bottom. The cross below the delta in line 4 seems to indicate the center of the front face. The distance from the center of this cross to the left edge is *ca.* 0.16 m., and the total width of the plaque was therefore *ca.* 0.32 m.

The restoration of *I.G.*, III, 3481, line 4 (Θεο[δῶ]ρας) has now to be abandoned, and the restoration of *I.G.*, III, 3437, lines 3 and 4 (Ἀλ[ε]ξ[αν]δ[ρ] — — —) must be modified. Traces of a letter seem to be preserved in front of the delta in line 4, and this letter may have been a nu although the preserved stroke, if it belonged to a letter at all, looks more like

the top of an epsilon. Judging from the other Christian tombstones, it should be assumed that the two names of this inscription were connected by καί (possibly spelled κέ), and this conjunction may be restored at the beginning of line 3. This would necessitate the restoration of a woman's name Ἀλαίξ[ά]νδρα in lines 3 and 4.<sup>148</sup>

**II.** A photograph of the inscription published as *I.G.*, III, 3438 (= Bayet, no. 66), which is now kept in the Byzantine Museum, is illustrated by G. A. Soteriou, *Εὐρετήριο*, I, p. 10, fig. 2; *Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 43. From this illustration it appears clearly that the reading first made by Koumanoudes (*op. cit.*, no. 3604: Μαρτυρίου) and the restorations suggested by Bayet (Μαρτυρί[ον], Μαρτυρίο[ν]), as well as the new reading (?) by Soteriou (*Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 42: Μάρτυρος) are all incorrect. The last partially preserved letter of the third line was an alpha, a lambda, an upsilon, or a chi. It is clear that the only reasonable restoration can be:

† Κοιμητήρι[ον]  
Σώλου  
Μαρτυρί[ς].

It must be noticed, however, that in most of the Attic Christian funeral inscriptions containing two names, the names are connected by καί; see above, note 31. For the spelling of the name Σώλου, see above, p. 20.

**III** (Plate I). *I.G.*, III, 3465 is a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the Theatre of Dionysos, and now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9898); it was published also by Bayet, no. 8.

[ν] ω  
[†] † †  
[Κοι]μητή  
[ριον] Νικ(αί)ου.

The inverted omega at the top was probably preceded by an inverted alpha; see above, p. 16. For the rosette, see above, p. 17. All the previous editors have restored the name in line 2

<sup>148</sup> The occurrence of *ai* for *ε* is peculiar but well attested for this period; see above, p. 19.



as [E]ὐνίκου; such a reconstruction is incorrect. The first preserved letter of the second line is not an upsilon but a nu; the letter immediately above is a mu. If the three letters KOI (and not KY as in *I.G.*, III, 3465) are restored in the first line, the same number should be restored below. The preserved vertical stroke of the first extant letter in line 2 is therefore part of the final nu of the word [κοι.]μητῆ[ριο]ν. The name that follows begins with a nu and may be read as Νικ(αί)ου.

This reading is suggested by the peculiar form of the kappa with a tail, a form which in many other instances is used as an abbreviation for καί.<sup>149</sup>

IV (Plate I). *I.G.*, III, 3487 was first published by Bayet, no. 83; the stone is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9915).

† Κομητ[ήρι]  
ον Τυχ[κοῦ]  
καὶ Εὐφ[μύ]  
[ας]. †

Both Bayet and Dittenberger assumed that the inscription was written in three lines, with a cross below the center of the third line. It is clear, however, from the illustration, that the cross was not placed in the center, but at the end of the last name, which extended into a fourth line. Bayet was right in assuming that this epitaph recorded the burial of a man and his wife; see above, pp. 6-7.

V (Plate I). *I.G.*, III, 3502 was first published by Koumanoudes, *op. cit.*, no. 3580, and his publication was the sole basis for the text as printed in *Inscriptiones Graecae* and in Bayet, no. 37. The stone is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9944).

<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>
[Κομητ]ήριον	Κομητ[ήριον]
[ <sup>8-4</sup> —]ης καὶ Καλ	Ἀλέξω[ρος].
[ <sup>2-8</sup> —ο]υς.	

This base of Hymettian marble contains two inscriptions, apparently written by two different hands. Koumanoudes, who failed to record the first line of the second inscription (*b*), considered all as one text and read the second line as IC καὶ Καλὺς Αλέξ.ω.... An examination of the squeeze reveals traces of the word κομητ[ήριον], beginning above the first letter of the name Ἀλέξω[ρος] and obviously belonging to this name. Since it is unlikely that the word κομητ[ήριον] was repeated in the same inscription, and since the texts marked as *a* and *b* seem to be engraved by different hands, it may be assumed that two Christian epitaphs were engraved on the same stone.<sup>150</sup>

Inscription *a* consists of the word [κομητ]ήριον (in one line) and two names, connected by καί. The first name, the end of which was read by Koumanoudes as IC, was that of a woman and it ended in [---]ης (genitive).<sup>151</sup> Assuming that this name began underneath the kappa of [κομητ]ήριον, the restoration [Ἀγάπ]ης would fill the space.

The second name begins with the letters ΚΑΑ after which Koumanoudes read ΥC. No traces of these last two letters are visible on the squeeze, and it is unlikely that they ever stood there since the last preserved letter lambda stands underneath the last letter of [κομητ]ήριον, thus probably marking the end of the line. On the other hand, there seem to be traces of two letters of a third line preserved, and these may be the two letters read by Koumanoudes as ΥC. The second of these letters (the last of the inscription, since it is followed by an uninscribed space) is certainly a sigma, as the alternative reading (epsilon) is not a genitive ending. The letter before the sigma may well have been an upsilon, but only the top of the right slanting stroke is preserved.

Inscription *b* consists of the word κομητ[ήριον] followed by one name. This is indicated by the uninscribed space below the second

<sup>149</sup> See above, pp. 11-12; compare M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, p. 23, notes 1 and 2.

<sup>150</sup> For a discussion of double tombstones, see above, p. 7.

<sup>151</sup> For this unusual arrangement, see above, note 32.

line. In the engraving of the name 'Αλέξω[ρος], the stonecutter first used an artistic form of the letter xi, and later inserted the more common form immediately after the epsilon; see, however, P. Graindor, *B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, p. 289, note 1.

VI (Plate I). *I.G.*, III, 3513 was first published by Koumanoudes, *op. cit.*, no. 3553, and was republished by Bayet, no. 102. The stone was found, according to Koumanoudes, in the Attic village Trachones, and it may therefore have once stood in the cemetery of the early Christian church found in this region (G. A. Soteriou, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1929, p. 195; A. Orlandos, *Εὐρετήριον*, III, pp. 155-156); it is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9932).

† Μνημόριον Διο-  
νυσίου σιρικαρί-  
ου οἰκαίτη τοῦ  
λαμπροτάτου  
5 Πλουτάρχου ἀν-  
θυπάτου.

The significance of this epitaph lies in the fact that it mentions one of the governors of Greece, the proconsul Ploutarchos. Various attempts have been made to identify the proconsul with other bearers of the name Ploutarchos; they have all failed because they were based on the assumption that three other inscriptions, two from Athens (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3818 and 4224) and one from Megara (*I.G.*, VII, 94-95), all refer to the same person. The σοφιστής Ploutarchos, who erected ca. 410 A.D. a statue of the prefect Herkoulios (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4224), called himself μύθων ταμίης, and is praised by the Athenians as βασιλεὺς λόγων and σταθερῆς ἔρμα σοφροσύνης (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3818). He may be no other than the famous philosopher Ploutarchos, the son of Nestorios, father of Hierios, grandfather of another Ploutarchos, and teacher of Proklos.<sup>152</sup>

The Ploutarchos, however, who was honored in the Megarian inscription (*I.G.*, VII, 94-95) evidently was not a man of letters. He is called a descendant of proconsuls and prefects (ἀπ' ἀνθυπάτων καὶ ὑπάρχων), and he is praised on account of his justice (καθαρήσιν αἰοιδιμον εὐνομίῃσιν; πάντα δ' εὐνομίης εὖχος ἀπειρέσιον; πολλῶν ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἀμφὶ Δίκης τεμένει). It is evident that this man held a public office connected with the administration of justice. We are tempted, therefore, to identify him with the proconsul Ploutarchos whom we know from the Athenian inscription. Unfortunately, neither the Athenian nor the Megarian inscription can be accurately dated. We know the names of four, possibly of five, proconsuls of Greece who held office during the last thirty years of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4222, 4223, 4226, 5205; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 918 [?]). It may be that Ploutarchos should be added to this list.<sup>153</sup> We do not know whether or not Ploutarchos was an Athenian. The fact that his slave Dionysios was buried near Athens can hardly be used as evidence.

Two more Athenians of this period with the name Ploutarchos are known (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12473; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 436-437); neither of these seems to have any connection with the proconsul.

The occupation of Dionysios is given as σιρικάριος; see above, p. 8 and note 118. For the spelling of the word οἰκαίτη, see above, note 103.

VII (Plate II). *I.G.*, III, 3516 a was first published by Koumanoudes, 'Αθήναιον, VI, 1877, pp. 384-385, no. 7.

Α Ρ Ω  
✱  
Τύμβον ὃν εἰς-  
ορᾷς Ζωσιμανῆς  
ὃ ξέναι  
Ϝ φιλέγωνε  
5 σῶφρων.

<sup>152</sup> See R. Hirzel, *Plutarch*, p. 77, note 9; K. Praechter, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXI, pp. 426-430; A. von Premerstein, *Jahreshefte*, XV, 1912, p. 32, note 110; G. Rodenwaldt, *Griechische Porträts*, p. 13, note 18; P. Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 288, note 1.

<sup>153</sup> This observation is confirmed by L. Robert (*per ep.*) who dates Ploutarchos in the reign of Constans; cf. Hanton, *Byzantion*, IV, 1927/8, pp. 64-65; Groag, *Diss. Pann.*, XIV, 1946, pp. 59 ff.



Koumanoudes reported that the ends of lines 3 and 4 were mutilated, but it is clear from the illustration that the last 3 lines of this inscription, although shorter than the first two, are completely preserved. The strokes above the final letters of line 4, which may possibly form a nu, belong to an earlier inscription of which faint traces are visible all over the inscribed surface; see above, note 144. We assume that this stone marked the grave of a young child, for the epitaph is addressed to any visitor (compare Lattimore, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-234, no. 63) who loves children (for the spellings *ξέναι* and *φιλέγονε*, see above, p. 19 and note 123). The word *σώφρων* may be taken as another vocative (following *φιλέγονε*), or as the predicate. In the latter case, one may wonder whether the fourth line should not read *φίλε γόνε* (a hybrid imperative form of *γίγνομαι*). For a discussion of the symbol above this epitaph, see above, p. 16; for a discussion of the leaf, see above, note 98.

**VIII** (Plate II). *I.G.*, III, 3517 was first published by Bayet, no. 23; the stone is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9936). We illustrate the inscribed part here in order to call attention to the monogram.

Ϟ ϣ Ϟ  
Κυριακοῦ.

Dittenberger has already indicated the heavy lines above and below the name, and the leaves which flank the cross; see above, note 79. He did not, however, call attention to the fact that the cross is rendered in the form of *crux monogrammatica* with the open rho; see above, note 86. A monogram of exactly the same type appears on a coptic stele from Egypt.<sup>154</sup>

**IX** (Plate II). The stone with the inscription now published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13222, was found in the Theatre of Dionysos, thus in a region where many Christian tombstones were discovered and where apparently a Christian ceme-

tery was located. Moreover, an examination of the squeeze reveals traces of a cross below the letters ΞΗ of the next to the last line of the inscription. It is clear, therefore, that this fragment was once part of a Christian epitaph, and the text of the inscription, if properly restored, confirms this assumption.

The restoration of the text as suggested by Koumanoudes (*op. cit.*, no. 3873 = *I.G.*, III, 1426) is not acceptable because it requires too many letters to be supplied at the end of the third line. Judging from the necessary restorations in lines 4 and 5, four letters at the most are missing after *ταύτην* in line 3. It may be noticed, incidentally, that Koumanoudes saw more of lines 4 and 5 than seems to be preserved today. Peek's reading (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13222) of the first word of the third line (*θῖναι* = *θεῖναι*) is an improvement, but his interpretation of the following word ΕΧΙ (presumably for *ἔχοι*; see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13213, line 6) as ΕΙC is wrong. The inscription may be confidently restored as follows.

[<sup>6-7</sup>—] ἤν [τις τολ]  
μῆ[σ]ει τινα ἄλλ[ον]  
θῖναι, ἔχι ταύτην [τὴν ἄ]  
ράν· μῆτε γῆ μῆ[τε θά]  
5 λασα δέξη αὐ[τοῦ τὰ]  
ὀστά.

†

Instead of an uninscribed space after *ἄλλ[ον]*, in line 2, there may have been [*ισ*] *θῖναι*; compare, however, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13211, line 2: *εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον τολμήσει θεῖναι τινα*. The restoration of the end of the third line [*τὴν ἄ*] *ράν* is one letter too long; it may be that one should restore [*τίν*] rather than [*τὴν*]. The reading and restoration of the first line are too uncertain to justify any comment. For the phrase *ἔχοι ταύτην τὴν ἄράν*, reference may be made to a considerably later document from Thessaly containing the curse *ἔχι τὴν ἄράν τῷ(ν) ἀγίῳ(ν) π(α-*

<sup>154</sup> See M. A. Frantz, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 23, figure 6; compare C. Bonner, *Proc. Am. Philos. Society*, LXXXV, 1941, p. 90, figure 7.

τέ)ρ(ων).<sup>155</sup> For the use of the word ἀρά, see the examples quoted below (in the commentary on No. XII); see also *I.G.*, VII, 2183 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13188, lines 15-16. The mention of land and sea is unique in this formulation, but a similar phrase occurs in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13209, line 9 = 13210, lines 14-16: μὴ γῇ βατῇ μὴ θάλασσα πλωτῇ; compare Lattimore, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115; Bees, *op. cit.*, p. 33. For the curse directed against the bones of a possible violator, see below, No. XII.

**X.** The inscription published by Bayet, no. 11, has not found its way into *Inscriptiones Graecae*. The stone was found near the sanctuary of Asklepios, on the South Slope of the Akropolis, and it is now in the Byzantine Museum.<sup>156</sup> The photograph published by Soteriou (see note 156) permits a complete restoration of the text.

[†] Κυμη †  
           τήριον  
 [᾿Α]θηνέον.

It is clear that the ornament at the bottom indicates the middle of the inscribed face. We must assume, therefore, that the large cross in the right upper corner was balanced by a similar cross in the upper left corner, and that the second line of the inscription began somewhat farther to the left than the first line; see note 76. The third line would then have started even more to the left, its first letter standing underneath the foot of the cross. The restoration of the text suggested above is based on this observation.

For a discussion of the design at the bottom of this epitaph, see above, p. 17; for the spelling of the name Athenaios, see above, note 106.

**XI** (Plate III). The inscription published by Bayet, no. 13, has not found its way into *Inscriptiones Graecae*. It was discovered in the sanctuary of Asklepios, and is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 4258). The stone is broken only at the top. Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.08 m. M. Mitsos kindly supplied us with a description of the stone.

[τ]ὸν ᾿Α  
 γιον ᾿Α  
 νδρέαν.

Bayet was probably correct in reading the name ᾿Α|νδρέαν in lines 2 and 3, for the marks after the alpha of line 2 do not seem to belong to a letter. He did not notice, however, the faint traces of a gamma at the beginning of the second line. Lines 2 and 3 are, therefore, completely preserved, and only one letter is missing at the beginning of the first line.

The name Andreas occurs more frequently on the Attic Christian tombstones than any other name.<sup>157</sup> This may be due to the fact that Andreas is not only a good Greek name, but also the name of one of the Apostles, who preached the Gospel in Greece, and who, according to tradition, suffered martyrdom at Patras in Achaia.

The text of this inscription differs, however, from the others because the name is in the accusative. It is known that an early Christian church stood in the old sanctuary of Asklepios, and it is possible, therefore, that this inscription records the dedication of a statue, or even of the church itself, in honor of Saint Andrew.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>155</sup> See N. I. Giannopoulos, *Ἑπετηρίς*, XII, 1936, p. 404, no. 6; compare W. M. Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, p. 397, note 1. For the curse of the 318 Fathers who assembled at the Nicene Council, see M. Holleaux, *B.C.H.*, IX, 1885, p. 83, no. 13; W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II, p. 555, no. 429; De Waele, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41. The phrase *và ἔχη τὰς ἀρὰς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων* is found as late as 1548; see *Δελτ. τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ.*, I, 1892, pp. 138-139, no. 12.

<sup>156</sup> See G. A. Soteriou, *Εὐπετήριον*, I, p. 10, fig. 2; *Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 43.

<sup>157</sup> It is frequently found also on the Christian epitaphs from Corinth; see De Waele and Bees, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>158</sup> See M. Lambert, *B.C.H.*, I, 1877, pp. 169-170, and plates VII-VIII; A. Xyngopoulos,



**XII** (Plate II). The inscription published by Bayet, no. 79, has not been included in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, but it was republished, without reference to Bayet, by K. M. Konstantopoulos, *Harmonia*, no. 2. Both Bayet and Konstantopoulos copied the text in the Museum of the Archaeological Society. The stone is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9967). It is a plaque of white marble, broken above, below, and at the right. Its preserved thickness is, according to Konstantopoulos, 0.04 m.

Μαρτύριον  
κ(αὶ) Μαρτυρίας·  
εἴ τις δὲ τολ  
μήσει κατε  
περάνω κατ[ά]  
ρα κ(αὶ) πανάρ[α]  
τοῖς ὁστοῖ[s].

The name Μαρτύριος is well attested for the early Christian period.<sup>159</sup> On the other hand, the name Μαρτυρία seems to be otherwise unknown. It has been suggested above (No. II) that this name be restored in another Attic inscription. For the abbreviation of καί, see above, note 61.

Bayet printed in his text only the first three lines and part of the fourth, stating "post verbum τολμήσει nihil intellexi certum; haec autem, sed timide, conjici posse videntur; καθάπερ ἄνω κατάρα καὶ παναβύσσοις. . . ." Konstantopoulos, on the other hand, gives a complete and intelligible text except for the last two lines. It seems clear that the last three lines of the inscription should be read as printed above, meaning "an all-out curse on his

bones."<sup>160</sup> The preceding phrase, εἴ τις τολμήσει κατεπεράνω, although its significance is clear, contains the puzzling word κατεπεράνω. It may be suggested that this is a combination of κατεπάνω (found in medieval and modern Greek) and ὑπεράνω, and not a substitute for καθυπεράνω, as Konstantopoulos suggests. The curse in this inscription seems to be unique; it is similar, however, to that contained in another Attic inscription which is now published among the pagan tombstones (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13222), but which is in fact a Christian epitaph (see above No. IX).

Attention should be called to the peculiar shape of the nu and rho of line 6; compare the letters of the inscription discussed on p. 9.

**XIII** (Plate II). The inscription published by Bayet, no. 81, is not in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, but it was republished, without reference to Bayet, by Konstantopoulos, *Harmonia*, no. 19. The text was copied both by Bayet and by Konstantopoulos in the Museum of the Archaeological Society, and the stone is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9979). Konstantopoulos reports that part of the top is preserved, and that the original thickness is 0.095 m., while the width is only 0.16 m.; see above, note 142.

Ἡ τῇ[ν μα]  
καρία[ν]  
μνήμη[ν]  
Ἀνικητία  
5 ἐνθάδε  
κατοικί.  
ϛ

Ἀρχ. Ἑφ., 1915, pp. 52-71; G. A. Soteriou, *Εὐρετήριον*, I, pp. 46-47. Xyngopoulos discusses the remains of several Christian churches, and dates the first at the end of the fifth century (*loc. cit.*, p. 53). For an early representation of Saint Andrew, see *Δελτ. τῆς Χριστ.* Ἀρχ. Ἑτ., I, 1892, p. 131, no. 13, and plate I.

<sup>159</sup> See *R.E.*, s. v. Martyrios; Jalabert and Mouterde in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, VII, 1, col. 636, note 12.

<sup>160</sup> A good parallel for this curse is found in a pagan inscription from Crete: ἐπάρα κατάρα κακὴ τῷ ἀσεβήσαντι ---; see *Inscriptiones Creticae*, I, p. 207, no. 64; compare also the phrase ἐξώλης καὶ πανώλης (J. Merkel, *Über die Sogenannten Sepulcralmulden*, pp. 22-23; *S.E.G.*, VI, 802, line 19; *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, no. 15) and ἐπικατάρατος (*I.G.*, XII, Supplement [1939], p. 196, no. 1179; W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II, p. 559, no. 445).

Bayet's text contains only lines 3-6 (probably because he was unable to restore the beginning; compare No. XII), but the text given by Konstantopoulos is both correct and complete. The phrase  $\eta\tau\eta[\nu\mu\alpha]καρία[\nu]\muνήμη[\nu]$  occurs in the same position on several Christian epitaphs from Corinth.<sup>161</sup> It may be presumed that this phrase was in common use in Corinth while it was only rarely employed in Athens; compare Bees, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. In fact, it is by no means certain that this epitaph originally stood in Athens.<sup>162</sup> The phrase  $\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\iota$  is a variation of the pagan  $\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota\ \sigma\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ , adapted to the Christian usage. As Konstantopoulos observed,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\iota$  (for the spelling, see p. 19) may be compared with  $\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  and  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ; see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12825, recognized by Bayet (no. 43) as a Christian tombstone.

Attention may be called to the occurrence of the "Latin" delta (see below, note 179) and to the leaf below the inscription (see above, note 98).

**XIV** (Plate III). The inscription published by Bayet, no. 87, is not published in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, but it was republished, without reference to Bayet, by Konstantopoulos, *Harmonia*, no. 31. The stone was copied both by Bayet and by Konstantopoulos in the Museum of the Archaeological Society. It is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9982). Attention may be called to the thickness of the stone, which is recorded by Konstantopoulos as 0.15 m.; see above, note 142.

$\text{Κυμη[τήριον Εὐ]} \\ \text{γένον[ς καὶ Σωτ]} \\ \text{ήρα[ς].}$

The unusual thickness of the stone, considered with the small size of the lettering, may

indicate that only a little of each of the three lines is preserved. The restoration as suggested above differs from that given by Bayet and Konstantopoulos, since it tries to give the first and second lines equal length. As to the restoration of the proper names, Bayet's statement may be repeated: *nomina incerta sunt*.

The second letter of the first line is an upsilon (Konstantopoulos) and not an iota, as Bayet has it; enough of the letter is preserved to show the fork of the two slanting strokes.

The three lines of the inscription are engraved between carelessly drawn guide lines; see above, note 138.

**XV** (Plate III). The inscription published by Bayet, no. 95, has not found its way into *Inscriptiones Graecae*, but it was republished, without reference to Bayet, by Konstantopoulos, *Harmonia*, no. 20. The stone is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9988).

$\dagger \\ \dagger\ \text{Κυμητίριον} \\ \text{'Ισιδώρου} \\ \text{ἀναγνώστου} \\ \text{μαχερά.}\ \dagger$

Bayet reports, "*lapis servatus dicitur ἐν τῷ ὑπουργείῳ ἐκπαιδείσεως*, sed negavit Eustratiadis antiquitatum, ut multi iam experti sunt, haud urbanus ephorus. Apographum communicavit benevolentissimus Koumanoudes." In spite of these difficulties, the text published by Bayet is correct. Attention may be called, however, to the fact that the inscription is engraved in four lines (and not in two as Bayet has it), that there are crosses above, in front of, and at the end of the text, and that the spelling of the first word is  $\kappa\upsilon\mu\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  (and not  $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  as Bayet prints it). Konstantopoulos' text is

<sup>161</sup> *I.G.*, IV, 408; *Corinth*, VIII, 1, nos. 147, 151, 153; *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, nos. 17, 31, 33, 55, 56; see also Soteriou, *Guide*<sup>1</sup>, p. 21; *Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 42.

<sup>162</sup> In discussing  $\delta\ \sigma\iota\ \eta\ \tau\eta\nu\ \mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \mu\eta\acute{\eta}\mu\eta\nu$ , Konstantopoulos stated (*Harmonia*, p. 29, in the commentary on no. 17; see above, note 11) that this phrase does not occur on Attic inscriptions, referring in particular to the epitaph of Aniketia which he published as no. 19. It should be noticed, however, that this inscription is not included by Bees in his collection of the texts from Corinth (*C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1).



correct in all these respects; he fails, however, to give any dimensions.

The fourth line of the inscription offers some difficulty. Bayet (*De Titulis*, Index, p. 128) seems to take Μαχερά as the genitive of the name Μαχαιράς, and this name is indeed attested.<sup>163</sup> It would be puzzling, however, to find recorded here the deaths of two men whose names are not even connected by the usual καί.<sup>164</sup> Konstantopoulos offered the suggestion that Μαχέρα (not Μαχερά) was the surname of the reader Isidoros.<sup>165</sup> It should be noted, however, that the original meaning of μαχαιράς is "cutler."<sup>166</sup> It is quite conceivable that Isidoros, the cutler, also served as reader in his church.<sup>167</sup>

Attention should be called to the four thin guide lines, which appear in the illustration. They are 0.029-0.030 m. apart and very neatly drawn; see above, note 136.

**XVI** (Plate III). The inscription published by Konstantinides, *Παρθενώσις*, VI, 1882, p. 84, no. 11, is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 5675).

ΕΝΕΝΚΕ  
ΤΟΝΚΥΡΙΝ

Konstantinides' transcription is correct, but his restored reading (Ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ [δόξαν καὶ τιμήν]) is not in keeping with his own text. The uninscribed space at the left apparently indicates that we have the beginning of two lines, and the raised band at the right makes

it clear that the inscription did not continue to the right. The same impression is gained from the peculiar spelling of Κύριον in the second line, obviously due to the engraver's desire to write the complete word in the available space.

We assume, with some hesitation, that ΕΝΕΝΚΕ is the infinitive ἐνέγκαι which was part of a phrase like εἰ δέ τις τολμήσει ἕτερόν τινα νεκρὸν ἐπεισενέγκαι, or something similar. The second line τὸν Κύριον may be completed with the words κεχολωμένον ἕξει or similar. Both phrases are common enough in Asia Minor, but it should be noticed that they have τὸν Θεόν instead of τὸν Κύριον.

The large size of the letters (ca. 0.035 m.) may indicate that only a small fragment of a large monument is preserved.

**XVII** (Plate III). The inscription published by Konstantopoulos in *Harmonia*, no. 3, is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9966). The stone was found below the Northeast Slope of the Akropolis, near the Church of the Anargyroi.

†  
† Κυμητήριον  
Ἰωά<ν>νου κα  
ὶ Ἐνεχλίας.

The stonecutter apparently forgot to complete the first nu of the name Ἰωάννου. If that letter were completed, it would resemble the peculiarly shaped nu found in line 6 of the inscription published above, No. XII. Konstantopoulos reads the second name as <Γ>ΕΝΕ-

<sup>163</sup> Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XIV, 434-438 (15, 7); *Bell. Jud.*, I, 317-327 (16, 6-17, 2); compare L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, XVIII, 1944, p. 41, note 4.

<sup>164</sup> See, however, notes 31 and 33.

<sup>165</sup> The peculiar separation of the name and surname by the title may be paralleled in English by the similar use of the title Canon or Cardinal: e. g., John Canon Smith, or John Cardinal Smith.

<sup>166</sup> The word is used today in this sense, and it apparently had the same meaning in earlier times; see *Ox. Pap.*, XIV, pp. 134-135, no. 1676, line 6; L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, XVIII, 1944, p. 52, note 4; for the spelling with epsilon instead of alpha iota, see above, p. 18.

<sup>167</sup> Compare, e. g., F. Halbherr, *A.J.A.*, XI, 1896, pp. 608-609, no. 6: Ἰωάν[ης] ἀν(αγνώστης?) κ(αὶ) χαρτουλάρ[ιος]; E. Hanton, *Byzantion*, IV, 1927-1928, p. 74: Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐλαβεστάτος διάκονος καὶ ἱητρός; C. Wessel, *Inscr. Gr. Christianae veteres Occidentis*, p. 25, no. 145: Διονυσίου ἱατροῦ πρεσβυτέρου; G. Bakalakis, *Θρακικά*, VIII, 1937, no. 6 (reported in *R.E.G.*, LII, 1939, p. 477, no. 188, 6): Παύλ(ου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ζωγράφου.

χλίας (for Γενεθλίας). This interpretation may have been influenced by the occurrence of the name Γενεθλία[s] in the immediately following inscription (no. 4 of Konstantopoulos' article, republished here as No. XVIII). Bees (*op. cit.*, p. 117) accepted this reading and called attention to the phonetic significance of the change from gamma to iota (and from theta to chi?). It seems more probable, however, that the first letter of line 3 is the final iota of the conjunction καί, part of which is written in line 2.<sup>168</sup>

The name Ἐνέχλια, unique at least in this spelling, may be derived from the verb ἐνοχλέω (which has a bad connotation), or from a combination of ἐν and ὄχλος (comparable to Ἐνδημος). It is also possible that the name is a derivative of the Attic place name Ἐχελίδαι which, at least in one instance, is referred to as Ἐνεχελιδώ (*Et. Mag.*, s. v.). The final sigma of the genitive ending is smaller than the other letters, and is written somewhat above the line. The upper stroke of this letter is extended to the right.

**XVIII** (Plate IV). The inscription published by Konstantopoulos, *Harmonia*, no. 4, is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9968).

† [†]  
Οἰκητή[ριον]  
τῆς μα[καρίας]  
καὶ ἀειμ[νήστου]  
καὶ ἀλησ[μονήστου]  
5 Γενεθλία[s μοναχῆς (?)].

The incised cross at the left was probably balanced by another at the right; see above, note 76. Lines 2-4 contain a series of adjectives and not names, beginning with the word τῆς (line 2) and connected by καί (lines 3 and 4). The restoration suggested by Konstantopoulos for line 4 (ἀλῆσ[του] accepted by Bees, *op. cit.*, p. 117) is too short, and ἀλησ[μονήστου], which is found on another Christian epitaph (*I.G.*,

III, 3446) is preferable. Since the letters of the last line appear to be more closely spaced, it may be that the name Γενεθλία was followed by another word which completely filled the fifth line. The restorations suggested for lines 2-5 require a length of line longer than that of the first, and it seems possible, therefore, that the last words of these lines may have been abbreviated.

**XIX** (Plate IV). The inscription published by Konstantopoulos, *Harmonia*, no. 5, is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 49). A fragment in the same museum (our squeeze has no inventory number) probably joins above, and another (E.M. 3508) joins below. These three fragments belong, according to Konstantopoulos' description of the one he published, to a triangular pillar of Pentelic marble. The front face and the adjoining right side of the middle piece are 0.24 m. wide, while the left side measures 0.23 m. The front face of the fragment which joins above is only ca. 0.235 m. wide (measured on the squeeze), and it seems possible that the pillar tapered toward the top. The front face of the lower fragment is not completely preserved; the right side of this fragment is inscribed. The piece published by Konstantopoulos was found at the intersection of the ὁδοὶ Ἐρμού and Νορμάννον, near the place where the early Christian Church of St. Agathokleia stood (see below, note 180). In spite of that coincidence, this epitaph is not Christian; see above, p. 10. It is known, moreover, that other pagan inscriptions were found in the same locality; see below, note 182.

a	
[-----]	
[εα. 5. ἐν ταύ]	
[τ]ηι. τῆι. ἐ[ντομί]	
δι. ἥτις. ἔχει	
5 βάθους ὀρνθ	
σομέ[ν]η τ[ῆ] ἀσδε	
ἄλλας καὶ τὴν	
	b
	ΠΟ[---]
	PINIΣ[---]
	ἐτελ[ειώθη ---]
	ΛΙΚΟ[---]

<sup>168</sup> Compare the division of κ|αί in *I.G.*, III, 3508.



σορὸν τοῖς ἐ  
μοῖς. Εἰ δέ τις  
10 [-ca. 3] κεινήσει  
[τι τήν] θήκην εἰ<ς(?)>  
[τὴν ἐντο]μίδα τῶ[ι]  
[ιεροτάτωι τα]  
[μείωι ----]

The inscription may have begun with the name of the deceased and the phrase ἐνθάδε κείμει. The relative pronoun in line 4 (ἥτις) introduces the verb ἔχει, which governs the accusatives in lines 6-8: "which contains (holds) these other coffins and my own casket." In the phrase τὴν σορὸν τοῖς ἐμοῖς, the word ὁστοῖς is of course understood: "for my bones."<sup>169</sup> The feminine form ὀρνυσομέ[νη] is required both by the length of the lacuna in line 6 and by the relative pronoun ἥτις, with which it agrees; it is modified by the genitive βάθους: "being dug in depth" or "deeply cut." This restoration and interpretation assumes that ἥτις (line 4) refers to the underground chamber or excavated vault in which the remains of several persons were kept, and we have restored the word ἐντομῖς both in lines 3 and 12 because it has this meaning. L. Robert (*Études Épigraphiques et Philologiques*, pp. 219-221) referred to several examples of the use of this word in epitaphs, and he maintained that it signifies a tomb that has been excavated or dug; the term seems to have been used primarily in Macedonia. It is interesting to note Hesychios' definition ἐντομίδας· μαμλάρι (leg. σμιλάρια), ψαλίδια. The word ψαλίδιον is the diminutive form of ψαλῖς, the primary meaning of which is "scissors"; it also means "vault" or "crypt," and thus confirms Robert's interpretation of ἐντομῖς.<sup>170</sup> The reading and restoration of the first part of line 3 agrees with the remains of the seven vertical strokes, except that the iota of τῇ stands a little too far from the preceding eta (the cross stroke of which is preserved).

In line 9, the punctuation mark between ἐμοῖς and εἰ indicates the beginning of a new sentence; the traces are faint, but there is clearly an uninscribed space between these two words. This new sentence expresses a threat directed against possible violators of the tomb, and it begins with the customary phrase εἰ δέ τις, followed by some compound of the verb κεινήσει in line 10.<sup>171</sup> The restoration of lines 11-12 is uncertain, and even the meaning of the passage is not clear. According to the text suggested here εἰ<ς> [τὴν ἐντο]μίδα would mean "in the vault," εἰς being used instead of classical ἐν with the dative. In front of θήκην one may prefer to restore ἄλλην. In that case, the meaning would be "move another casket into the vault." All these restorations presuppose that at the end of line 11 a sigma has been omitted. It should be mentioned, however, that the letters EI may stand for the particle ἤ.

The imprecation probably imposed a fine on anyone who might violate the tomb, and the last preserved word in line 12 (τῶ[ι]) makes it possible to restore in the following lines ιεροτάτωι ταμείωι δώσει, or a similar phrase. It should be noted that in most instances the verb δώσει is placed first, but in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13209 and 13224 the dative comes first.

We are unable to suggest any restoration for the four partially preserved lines of the right side; the third line may possibly have contained some form of the verb τελειόω.

Konstantopoulos has already seen that line 9 contains the beginning of a threat directed against a possible violator of the tomb. He apparently thought, however, that the use of this formula indicated that the document is Christian. Yet, in the preserved part of the inscription, there is no indication of Christianity, and the letter forms clearly show that the tombstone belongs to the second or to the early part of the third century after Christ.

<sup>169</sup> The term σορός occurs also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13211.

<sup>170</sup> For the use of ψαλῖς in this meaning, see the dictionaries and W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (1908), pp. 126-127, no. 110.

<sup>171</sup> The verb μετακινήσει occurs in similar documents (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13209, 13210 and No. XX), but it has there a different meaning.

This text should therefore have been included among the *Tituli sepulcrales cum diris et poenarum sanctionibus*, B. *Monumenta reliqua*, I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 13209-13228.

**XX** (Plate IV). The inscription published by Konstantopoulos, *Harmonia*, no. 6, is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9969). Another fragment, published as I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 13219 (see above, p. 10), joins at the bottom, thus completing the document. It should be noticed, however, that the thickness of the upper part, as reported by Konstantopoulos, is 0.035 m., while that of the lower part, as given by Kirchner, is 0.05 m. The width of the stele, as measured on the squeeze along line 7 of the joined fragments, is ca. 0.265 m.

Ἐνταῦ[θα]  
 κείται Φ[λ(άβιος)]  
 Μαιωρίνο[ς]  
 νομ(έρου) Ἐρούλ  
 5 ων. τούτου ὅς  
 ἂν βουληθ<ε>ῖ μετὰ  
 κεινῆσαι τι τῆς θήκ(ης)  
 ἢ ἑτερόν τινα κατα  
 θέσθαι, δώσει τῷ  
 10 ἱερῷ ταμείῳ ἀργύρου  
 λείτρας δύο. Ϟ

Konstantopoulos noticed that the letters of the first two lines are bigger and more widely spaced, but his restoration is made without regard to this observation. Since the width of the stone is now known, the restoration of line 1 must be ἐνταῦ[θα] because the missing fragment was at this point ca. 0.085 m. wide. In line 2, the name Φλάβιος must have been abbreviated (only ca. 0.075 m. of this line is missing), but the abbreviation may have been Φ[λ(άβιος)] or Φ[λά(βιος)]. In line 3, after Μαιωρίνο[ς], there was a space of ca. 0.045 m. This space

may have been uninscribed, or it may have been filled by [ἐκ] | νομ(έρου) which would correspond to the Latin *de numero*.<sup>172</sup> In line 4, the space after the lambda was ca. 0.05 m. If this space was uninscribed, as we assume, lines 2-4 would have had about the same length, while lines 1 and 5 would have been only slightly longer. In this case, the uninscribed space at the end of all these lines may have been filled by a Christian monogram. This means that Konstantopoulos' restoration of lines 5-6 (τούτου ὅς[τις] ἂν βουληθ<ε>ῖ) must also be changed, and in fact the normal formulation of this phrase is ὅς ἂν (with the frequent addition of δέ), and not ὅστις ἂν; βουληθ<ε>ῖ stands for βουληθῇ (W. K. Prentice). At any rate, it is extremely unlikely that Νουμέρου was the name of Maiorinos' father, unless it was misspelled for Νουμ(ε)ρου. The only other restoration of line 4 may be νομέρου Λ[<sup>ca. 3</sup>—]ων containing a reference to some division of the late Roman imperial army. We prefer the reading Ἐρούλων because this inscription agrees in several peculiar details with a number of documents in which members of the Herulian Corps are mentioned (see below).

In connection with μετὰ|κεινῆσαι in lines 6-7, see No. XIX and I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 13209, 13210; Compare S.E.G., VIII, no. 13. Kirchner correctly read the final letters of line 6. The phrase ἑτερόν τινα καταθέσθαι has been rightly restored by Robert (*Rev. de Phil.*, XVIII, 1944, p. 39, note 6) in I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 13218.

In line 10, the reading ἱερῷ ταμείῳ is correct and complete, since this translation of the Latin *fiscus* occurs on several Greek Christian epitaphs from Concordia (I.G., XIV, 2324, 2326, 2327, 2329, 2332, 2333). These tombstones from Concordia share with our inscription another peculiarity, for they too state the fine in pounds of metal (λείτραι).<sup>173</sup> Together with

<sup>172</sup> For three Christian epitaphs of soldiers belonging to *numeri*, see P. Perdrizet, *Mel. d'arch. et d'hist.*, XXV, 1905, pp. 85-86, no. 6 (from Salonica); W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (1908), p. 149, no. 141 (from Syria); D. M. Robinson, *T.A.P.A.*, LVII, 1926, pp. 215-216, no. 36 (from Asia Minor).

<sup>173</sup> See also L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, XVIII, 1944, p. 37, note 9 (also on p. 38).



these Greek tombstones there were found a number of Latin epitaphs of Roman soldiers, two of whom belonged to the Herulian Corps (Dessau, nos. 2796 and 2801). To complete the link between these inscriptions from Concordia<sup>174</sup> and the Attic epitaph of Maiorinos, it should be noticed that the two Herulians (as well as some of the other mercenaries mentioned in Dessau, nos. 2796-2803) had the Roman *nomen* Flavius in addition to their native *cognomen*. At least one of these Roman soldiers was a Christian (Dessau, no. 2803), and it seems likely that they all belong to the same period as the Syrian Christians whose sarcophagi were found in the same cemetery (*I.G.*, XIV, 2324-2336). Three of these Greek epitaphs (*I.G.*, XIV, 2332, 2330, and 2333) are dated in the years 409/10, 418/9, 426/7, and all of them, Latin and Greek, should be dated in the beginning of the fifth century. It is tempting to assume that the tombstone of Maiorinos belongs to the same period. The inscription itself does not reveal whether or not Maiorinos was a Christian. No cross adorned his tombstone which is now almost completely preserved; see above, p. 13.

**XXI** (Plate IV). The inscription published by Konstantopoulos, *Harmonia*, no. 19, is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9970). It is republished below because it shows several characteristics of the Attic Christian epitaphs.

† [†]  
 Κοιμη[τήριον]  
 Ἰωά[ννου καὶ]  
 Μελ[ιτίου].  
 ϛ [ϛ]

The large incised cross above the beginning of the inscription was probably balanced by another to the right; see above, note 76. There may also have been a second leaf below the restored part of the text; see above, note 98.

<sup>174</sup> See C. Hülsen, *R.E.*, s.v. Concordia 1.

<sup>175</sup> Bechtel (*Personennamen*, p. 554), accents this name Μελίτεια, probably with reference to the city Μελίτεια (*R.E.*, s.v.).

The three lines of the inscription are cut between four thin guide lines, which are ca. 0.022 m. apart; see above, note 138. The wide spacing of the first three letters of the name Ἰωά[ννου] makes it uncertain whether we should restore καὶ or κέ or the abbreviated form of this conjunction at the end of the line; see above, pp. 11-12.

The name in line 3 was tentatively restored by Konstantopoulos as Μελ[αίνης]. This name is not attested, and the genitive of the known form Μελαίνης would be too long. The restoration suggested above fills the available space.<sup>175</sup> The names Meletios and Melitios were well known during the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ (*R.E.*, s.v.), and the corresponding feminine form would be Melitia. It has been suggested that this name be restored on another Christian inscription from Athens; see above, note 33.

**XXII** (Plate V). The inscription published by Konstantopoulos, *Harmonia*, no. 10, is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9972). It is republished below because of the peculiar abbreviation of the word κοιμητήριον.

† Κοιμητήρ(ιον)  
 Ἀνδρέου  
 καὶ Τύχης.

The stone is, according to Konstantopoulos, broken at the left, but it is clear that the text is completely preserved. The stonecutter abbreviated κοιμητήριον by putting a mark over the final rho; see above, p. 12.

For a discussion of the *crux monogrammatica* with the open rho, see above, p. 16. Attention should be called to the square sigma (see above, note 70); the epsilon, however, is of the lunate shape.

**XXIII** (Plate V). The inscription published by Konstantopoulos, *Harmonia*, no. 15, is now kept in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9976).

[‘Ο πα]μφιλέ[σ]  
 [τ]α[τ]ος  
 Διογένης  
 ἐνθάδε κίτε  
 5 σὺν ὁμόφ<ρ>ο  
 νι γυνεὶ  
 Σαμβατίδι.

Konstantopoulos' restoration of the first two lines ([οὔτος ?] ἀφίλος [λ]ίθος) is by no means as certain as he claims, and the meaning of this ἐπιφώνησις remains puzzling and unparalleled. Unless the stone is now more damaged than when Konstantopoulos examined it, his reading of [λ]ίθος in the second line must be rejected. The letter in front of ΦΙΛ in the first line may have been alpha, lambda, or mu, while the letter after ΦΙΛ was epsilon, theta, or omikron. No trace of the following sigma is now visible on the squeeze; see *Harmonia*, plate 3, no. 20.

In the second line, only OC can be read with certainty, and it seems that the letters in front were damaged (erased ?) even before the stone was broken.

The restoration [ὁ πα]μφιλέ[στ]α[τ]ος, although unique among the Attic epitaphs,<sup>176</sup> apparently corresponds to the expression ὁ (or ἡ) τὴν μακαρίαν μνήμην, which is often combined with ἐνθάδε κείται (see No. XIII). In line 5, the stonecutter wrote an iota for a rho. It is uncertain whether this is a mistake or an indication of a peculiar pronunciation.<sup>177</sup> For a discussion of the name Σαμβατίς, see below, No. 13.

The inscription is engraved between six thin guide lines, of which the first five are ca. 0.028 m. apart; see above, note 138. The last guide line slants markedly upward, and the last line of the inscription is engraved without regard to this line.

## XII. THE NEW TEXTS

1 (Plate V). Inscribed pillar of Hymettian marble, found on February 10, 1936, in Section P. The right and left (?) edges, and the back, are preserved.

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.017-0.038 m.

Inv. No. I 3395.

Θεοδ  
 ωρήτ  
 ου  
 ἐνθάδε  
 5 [κ]ίτε νί  
 [ὁς (?)] ---].

The only indication that this inscription is Christian is provided by the name Theodoretos which is well attested for early Christian times but occurs otherwise in Attica only once, in a list of epheboi (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2239, line 322).<sup>178</sup>

The text of the inscription as printed above might indicate that this was the tomb of Theodoretos' son whose name would have to be restored in the sixth line. It seems unlikely, however, that the name of the father would have been so prominently displayed, at the beginning of the inscription and in larger letters. It may be suggested, therefore, that the stone carried two inscriptions. The first recorded the death of Theodoretos, giving his name in the

<sup>176</sup> The adjective is found on a papyrus of the fifth or sixth century (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 198); παμφιλεστάτῳ ἀδελφῷ Πέτρῳ.

<sup>177</sup> See E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, p. 212, notes 4 and 5.

<sup>178</sup> It may be noted that other Christian-sounding names are found in the ephebic catalogues of the third century after Christ, and the question may be raised whether or not some of the Attic epheboi may have been Christians. This problem is complicated by the fact that the majority of the early Christian names from Athens are known also as pagan names.



simple genitive. The second, beginning in line 4, although there was space in line 3, may have been the epitaph of Theodoretos' son: ἐνθάδε [κ]ῆτε υἱ[ὸς αὐτοῦ ---]. Good parallels are the inscriptions published in *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, nos. 34 and 60.

No definite date can be suggested for this epitaph, or for any of the other early Christian inscriptions published here. Attention may be called, however, to the horizontal strokes of the epsilon and of the theta which do not touch the curved part of the letters. This may be an indication of an early date, possibly in the fourth century.

2 (Plate V). Inscribed pillar of Hymettian marble, found on October 1, 1937, in Section AA. The stone is broken at the top, bottom, and back.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.086 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 5017.

[Ἐνθάδε κῆ]  
 τ[ε <sup>ca. 4</sup> ---]  
 [ῥ] τοῦ ὑπ[ο]  
 διακόνου  
 5 Ὀνησιφόρου  
 θυγάτηρ.

[Ἐνθάδε κῆ]τ[ε] is restored at the beginning because of the nominative in line 6. The office of ὑποδιάκονος occurs here for the first time in the Attic inscriptions; see above, note 45. It may be presumed that the daughter of the subdeacon died as a child, and that she was buried by her father. The name Onesiphoros is known from pagan inscriptions of the Roman period.

There is nothing peculiar about the letter

forms except for the "Latin" delta at the beginning of the fourth line.<sup>179</sup>

3 (Plate V). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on April 21, 1934, in Section K. Only the left side is preserved. Traces of a vertical incised line, running down from the upright stroke of the kappa, are visible.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.008-0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 1837.

Κοιμη  
 τήριον  
 Ἀνδρέα.

The fragment is broken on the right side, but the first three lines of the inscription are completely preserved. It may be that a fragment of a larger block was used for the Christian inscription, and the material, Pentelic marble, supports this assumption; see also No. 4. The fine lettering of the text indicates, however, considerable care in the preparation of this epitaph. It may be that the same stone contained two funerary inscriptions of which only the one on the left is preserved (see above, p. 7). For a discussion of the name Andreas, see No. XI.

Attention may be called to the occurrence of a square epsilon in line 3, but this form of the letter need not necessarily be taken as an indication of an early date, since it is also found combined with otherwise late letter forms; see above, note 70.

4 (Plate V). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on April 16, 1937, in Section II. The back is smooth.

<sup>179</sup> Similar forms are found in two Christian epitaphs from Athens (Nos. XIII and 15), in a Jewish inscription from Athens (*I.G.*, III, 3546; see W. Larfeld, *Handbuch*, II, 2, pp. 502 and 506), and in two inscriptions from Corinth (*C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, nos. 21 and 30, line 11 = *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 440, fig. 14). This form of delta, incidentally, is found in the Gothic alphabet as it originated toward the end of the fourth century after Christ; see A. Sigalas, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γραφῆς*, p. 290.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 4735.

[† Κοι]μη[τήριον]  
[Ἀνδ]ρέου π[ρεσ]  
[βυτέ]ρου κ[αὶ -ca-<sup>3</sup> -]  
[ - - - - - ]

Instead of the epsilon in the second line, the stonecutter originally engraved a circular letter, probably in anticipation of the following omikron.

The preserved thickness of the fragment (0.03 m.) indicates that it belongs to a small plaque, and the letter forms, especially the open rho, suggest a date in the late Roman or early Christian period. The cross has been restored in front of [κοι]μη[τήριον] so that the second line may begin with the name [Ἀνδ]ρέου. The third line was evidently spaced more narrowly than lines 1-2, and the restoration suggested above takes this fact into account.

For the occurrence of the name Ἀνδρέας (and of the genitive form in -ου), see above, pp. 20-21. For the restoration π[ρεσβυτέ]ρου see *I.G.*, III, 3449 = Bayet, no. 67.

5 (Plate VI). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on April 19, 1936, in Section N. The stone is broken at the bottom and at the upper left corner.

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.245 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.02-0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 4088.

[Κ]υμητήρι  
[ο]ν Ἀνδρέου

ἀγαγνώ(στων)

τ(ῆς) Ἀγίας

5 Ἀγαθο

κλίας.

The significance of this inscription lies in the fact that it mentions by name one of the oldest churches of Athens, dedicated to Saint Agathokleia. A church called Ἀγία Ἀγαθόκλεια is known to have existed in Athens, and its location on the ὁδὸς Ἑρμοῦ is near enough to the Agora to allow the assumption that it stood on the same site as its predecessor.<sup>180</sup> K. S. Pittakes, whose house stood near the church of St. Agathokleia, reports (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1856, no. 2686) that he and his neighbors saved the Ikon of the church at the time when Athens was set afire by the Turks during the Revolutionary War. The Ikon was taken to Salamis (an old refuge of the Athenians) and finally, after the liberation of Athens, deposited in the Μεγάλον Μοναστήρι since the church of St. Agathokleia was completely destroyed.<sup>181</sup> The feast day of the Saint is still celebrated on the 17th of September in the Μεγάλον Μοναστήρι which lies only a few yards from the old church. Pittakes suggested that the church of St. Agathokleia stood on the place of the pagan sanctuary of Eukleia and Eunomia, since many ancient inscriptions were found there.<sup>182</sup> Whatever may be the verdict on this hypothesis, it is now evident that the Church of St. Agathokleia dates back at least to the sixth or fifth century after Christ.

A. Mommsen has already collected (see note 182) some evidence concerning Ἀγία Ἀγαθόκλεια. From this it appears that her feast day fell on the 17th of September, and that she was a martyr. More can be learned from the

<sup>180</sup> See W. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, map I, E3, on ὁδὸς Ἑρμοῦ between ὁδὸς Πιπτάκη and ὁδὸς Ἀγίας (the name of the church is given as ΑΓΙΑ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΙ); see above, p. 33.

<sup>181</sup> See A. Xyngopoulos, *Εὐρετήριον*, II, p. 114, no. 27; see also D. G. Kampouroglou, Ἀπτικοὶ Ἑρωτες, pp. 48 and 57 (reporting that Byron lived during his first visit to Athens on ὁδὸς Ἀγίας, in the home of the Makri family).

<sup>182</sup> See K. S. Pittakes, *L'ancienne Athènes*, pp. 497 and 500; A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, p. 104, no. 123; *R.E.*, s. v. Eukleia; W. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 399; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 77; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4878 and the note on 5059; see also No. XIX of this publication.



famous *Menologium* of Basil II where, on the occasion of St. Agathokleia's feast day, the story of her martyrdom is told.<sup>183</sup> Agathokleia was a Christian slave girl belonging to Nikolaos and Paulina who were originally also Christians; in one source it is stated that only Nikolaos was a Christian while Paulina was a pagan. When Agathokleia's masters renounced their former Christian faith and again began to worship τὰ ἔθωλα, she refused to do the same. For several years she suffered insults and injuries, and was finally subjected to the most cruel punishment at the hands of Paulina. Agathokleia died as a blood witness. Although the church records do not seem to provide any information regarding the date and the place of Agathokleia's martyrdom, it may now be assumed, from the account of the *Menologium*, that it took place under Diocletian or even earlier, and the inscription published here may indicate that the story had its setting in Athens. There is, in fact, another early Christian epitaph from Athens on which the church of St. Agathokleia is mentioned: *I.G.*, III, 3480. The text of this inscription, of which no squeeze is available at Princeton, was first read and restored by Koumanoudes, *op. cit.*, no. 3582, and his restoration is now proved to be correct.<sup>184</sup>

It has been mentioned above that the Christian epitaphs found in the Agora belong to a cemetery located in or near the Agora. In addition to the church of St. George (the Hephaisteion), and the so-called Μεγάλη Παναγία (in the library of Hadrian), the church of St. Agathokleia may well be considered as one of the earliest, if not the earliest, church in the area of the Agora.

The letter forms of the inscription are different from those of the other inscriptions in two respects. The square forms of the letters sigma, omega, and especially of epsilon (see

above, note 70) seem to indicate an early date, while the opposite impression is gained from the use of abbreviations (see above, p. 11 and note 69) and from the occurrence of the ligature of omikron upsilon (see above, note 66). For a discussion of the office of ἀναγνώστης, see above, p. 8.

**6** (Plate V). Inscribed pillar of Hymettian marble, found on December 31, 1936, in Section Y. The stone is broken at the upper left corner.

Height, 0.219 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.138 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4290.

[Οἰ] † κη  
[τ]ήριον  
Διονυσιο  
δωρον [κέ]  
5 Εὐτροπία[s].

In line 4 [κέ] rather than [καί] is restored, for there does not seem to be enough space for the longer form.

It is interesting to notice that of the four letters of the first line two are engraved on each side of the incised cross; for this arrangement, see above, p. 15.

**7** (Plate V). Inscribed plaque of Hymettian marble, found on March 26, 1937, in Section P. Only the inscribed face and the back are preserved.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.-0.024 m.

Inv. No. I 4649.

† Κυμη[τήριον]  
Ἐλπίδ[ιον (?)].

The restoration of the name is uncertain;

<sup>183</sup> J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CXVII, col. 53; the parallel evidence is assembled by A. Lambert, *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. eccl.*, I, pp. 913-914. For the date of the *Menologium*, see S. Der Nersessian, *Byzantion*, XV, 1940-1941, pp. 104-125.

<sup>184</sup> The name Agathokleia occurs on two Christian epitaphs; one from Athens (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13240 [see above, p. 7]) and one from Corinth (*C.G.-C.I.*, 1, no. 43); see also above, note 11.

Ἑλπιδ[ηφόρου] would fill the entire available space.

8 (Plate VI). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on June 7, 1935, in Section Ν'. The original top and almost the full diameter are preserved; the surface is badly worn.

Height, 0.60 m.; original diameter, about 0.18 m.

Height of letters, *a*: 0.022 m.; *b*: 0.017-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2979.

*a* [ca. 2] ἴνων *ca.* 100 B.C.

[Ἡρακ]λεώτης.

*b* † Κυμ[ητήριον]  
Εὐκα[ρπίο]υ  
καὶ Ἀγά[πης]. †

Of the Christian inscription only the beginning and the end are preserved. It is assumed that the cross appearing on the left side of the illustration marks the end of the inscription, and that the trace of a letter above it belongs to the second line of the text. The restoration of the names in both inscriptions is uncertain.

This is one of the many Christian epitaphs which are engraved on small columns, the so-called *columellae* or *κιονίσκοι*; see above, note 143. For a discussion of reused stones, see above, p. 23.

9 (Plate VI). Inscribed plaque of Hymettian marble, found on March 16, 1937, in Section Σ. Parts of all faces are preserved; all faces are very crudely dressed except the inscribed face. The space below the inscription, 0.15 m. high, was left unworked for insertion in the ground.

Height, 0.425 m.; width, 0.281 m.; thickness, 0.101 m.

Height of letters, 0.020-0.028 m.

Inv. No. I 4637.

✠ † ✠  
Κυμ[ητήριον]  
οὐ [Ἰω]άννη  
[κ]αὶ Εὐκαρπίας.

The name in the second line cannot be restored with certainty. There is a rather wide unscripted space before the alpha. Traces of the omega may be visible in the break. The narrow space between this omega and the final nu of *κυμητήριον* could have been filled only by an iota. It is tempting to restore [Ἰω]άννη, and to assume that it was written with only one nu (see above, note 126); for this form of the genitive, see above, p. 21.

The design above the inscription, a cross flanked by two leaves, is common among the Attic tombstones, while it does not seem to occur elsewhere; see above, p. 15.

10 (Plate VI). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on February 10, 1939, in Section MM. The top, beveled right side, and back of the stone are preserved. The back is smooth, and shows signs of having been cut by a saw; the fragment seems to be part of an old revetment reused as a tombstone; see above, note 145.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.025-0.032 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5676.

[Κοιμ]ητή  
[ριον] Εὐφρο  
[σύνο]υ.

The wide space between the second and third lines may indicate that the inscription contained only one name.

11 (Plate VI). Inscribed plaque of Hymettian marble, found on December 15, 1937, in Section Ω. The right side is preserved.

Height, 0.225 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.051 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 5089.

[Κοι]μη  
[τίρι] † οὐ  
[διαφέ]ρον  
[λέον]τος  
5 [κὲ Θ]εοδ[ωρ]οῦ.



The reading of the first line is very uncertain, but the position of the letters of the second line after the horizontal bars of the cross makes it likely that the inscription was carved above and on both sides of the cross. Thus, considering the faint traces above the second line, one may also restore [οι]κη[τίρι]ον. The word διαφέρον (often written διαφέροντα) is usually followed by the proper name in the dative, but in several instances is construed with the genitive.<sup>185</sup>

For the cross which intersects the first four lines, see above, p. 15. There hardly seems to be space even for the short form κέ at the beginning of the fifth line, and it may be that an abbreviation for καί was used (see above, pp. 11-12). What seems to be the trace of a letter (upsilon ?), which is visible below the upsilon of the fifth line, may be either a mark of damage on the stone or part of an incised cross (or other ornament) below the inscription. If it should, however, be part of the text, an alternative restoration may be suggested for the fifth and sixth lines: [κέ τῆς δ]ούλης [αὐτο]ῦ; compare N. I. Giannopoulos, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXI, 1912, pp. 152-153, no. 1 = G. A. Soteriou, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1929, p. 155, no. 12.

**12** (Plate VII). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in January, 1937, in Section Σ. The top and about one fourth of the circumference are preserved.

Height, 0.236 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.129 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4452.

a [---]as    *ca.* 100 B.C.  
[---]ωνος  
[---]ιος.

<sup>185</sup> See No. 24; I. Ch. Dragarses, *Παπρασός*, VI, 1882, p. 252; *I.G.*, IV, 403; G. A. Soteriou, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1929, p. 150 (no. 2), 153 (no. 9), 155 (no. 13), 157 (no. 22); *Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 148; *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, nos. 3, 17, 31-34, 37, 39.

<sup>186</sup> In addition to *I.G.*, III, 3460, 3525; No. XXIII, and G. A. Soteriou, *Εὐμετήριον*, I, p. 10, fig. 2, mention may be made of three unpublished inscriptions in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 2225, 3425 + 4753, 5672); compare also *C.I.G.*, IV, 9723 and *I.G.*, XII, 1, no. 693.

<sup>187</sup> See Nagl, *R.E.*, s. v. Sabbatius: compare also D. M. Robinson, *T.A.P.A.*, LVII, 1926, p. 216; Bees, *op. cit.*, p. 75, note 2.

b † Ο[---]  
κέ Η[---]

The Christian inscription (b) probably consists of two names in the genitive case connected by καί, spelled here κέ. For the shape of the gravestone, and for its earlier use as a pagan tombstone, see above, notes 143 and 144.

**13** (Plate VII). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on March 16, 1936, in Section Σ. The stone is broken above and below, but the circumference is preserved.

Height, 0.165 m.; diameter, 0.106 m.

Height of letters, 0.022-0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 3813.

[† Κο]ύμ[ητήριον]  
Σαμβατίδος. †

For the use of columns as Christian tombstones, see above, p. 23.

The name Σαμβατίς occurs only once in pre-Christian Athens (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7931: tombstone of a woman from Ankara), but this and similar names are surprisingly frequent among the Christian Athenians.<sup>186</sup> Bayet suggested (p. 36) that these names are derived from the name of the Holy Sabbath, but it may be that the name of Emperor Justinian's father (Sabbatios, Σαββάτιος) also was not without effect on their popularity.<sup>187</sup>

**14** (Plate VIII). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on November 8, 1935, in Section N. The inscribed face, the roughly picked top, the left side, and the back are preserved. Traces of a vertical line, continuing the upright stroke of the kappa, are visible.

Height, 0.225 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.073 m.

Height of letters, 0.014-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 3200.

Κυμ[ητήριον]  
Σχολ[αστικ]  
οὔ.

Scholastikos as a proper name occurs in the fifth century after Christ, and this inscription may be one of its earliest occurrences.

**15** (Plate VII). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on March 22, 1934, in Section K. The upper left corner is broken away.

Height, 0.66 m.; width, 0.275 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.015-0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 1657.

[Κοιμη]τύριον  
[σολ]ῶς τις ἄν  
[ἐπι]τη  
δέουση δη(νάρια) πέν  
5 τε χρούσινα  
κὲ τήν ἄρχον  
τικὴν τιμου  
ρίαν ὑποστήν(αι).

The name to be restored in the second line must have been very short, but this is the only place where a proper name can be supplied. The phrase [σολ]ῶς τις ἄν [ἐπι]τηδέουση is unusual, but it exactly corresponds to the common formula εἰ δέ τις τολμήσει found in many pagan and Christian documents.<sup>188</sup> The verb ἐπιτηδεύω (in the meaning "to do with deliberate purpose") may be here confused with ἐπικηδεύω which has (according to Hesychios, *s. v.* ψέγω) the meaning "to make an additional burial."<sup>189</sup> It is significant that threats introduced by the phrase

εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει (or similar phrases containing the verb ἐπιτηδεύω) occur very frequently on Christian tombstones from Phrygia and occasionally on inscriptions from Cilicia.<sup>190</sup> The Attic inscription published here may well have been composed by somebody familiar with the phraseology used in Phrygia, but the rest of the text (lines 5-8) shows no similarity to examples from Asia Minor. The letters ΔΗ, in line 4, may be an abbreviation for δη(νάρια); see M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, p. 58. They may also represent the verb δεῖ, in which case ὑποστήν(αι) would depend on it. Instead of the tau, in line 6, the stonecutter originally engraved the horizontal stroke of an eta, the letter which follows in the text. The last word of the inscription, ὑποστήν(αι), if ΔΗ stands for δη(νάρια), is an infinitive, here practically equivalent to an imperative. It is used here in the meaning "to undertake unwillingly, to submit to, to endure," and it is probably a synonym of ὑπόκειμαι which occurs frequently in similar texts. The ending may have been omitted by mistake, or the engraver (or the composer) of the text may have thought that -ην = εἶν was the infinitive ending.

The main part of the inscription (lines 2-8) is taken up by a threat against a possible violator of the tomb (or the tombstone).<sup>191</sup> The interesting feature of this inscription lies in the mention of a fine imposed upon the violator, and in the currency of this fine. The Attic pagan inscriptions in which fines are mentioned (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13211, 13215, 13219 [see above, No. XX]) use silver as currency except for *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13224 (χρυσοῦ ὠκίας τρεῖς) and 13220 which imposes the fine of 25 *denarii* without stating the kind of metal.<sup>192</sup> Considering the value of

<sup>188</sup> For the occurrence of ἄν, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13214; J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *M.A.M.A.*, III, p. 73 (no. 77); W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II, pp. 514 (no. 353) and 529 (no. 373).

<sup>189</sup> See also *S.E.G.*, VI, no. 784, and Ramsay, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 535 (no. 391) and 542 (no. 408).

<sup>190</sup> See Ramsay, *op. cit.*, *passim*; W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, *M.A.M.A.*, VI, pp. 72-88; J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 73 (no. 77) and 174 (no. 504); *S.E.G.*, VI, 268 and 784; compare B. Keil, *Hermes*, XLIII, 1908, p. 533.

<sup>191</sup> For a discussion of this type of inscription, see above, pp. 9-11.

<sup>192</sup> The inscriptions published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13212, 13217, 13218, 13221 are not Attic; see above, note 49.

the silver *denarius* in that period (third century after Christ), it may be assumed that the 25 *denarii* mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13220 were in fact gold *denarii*. The usage of *denarii aurei* is well attested for the later Roman empire,<sup>193</sup> and the Greek equivalent (χρύσιννοι) is well attested for central Greece.<sup>194</sup> The same term is used in another Attic text (G. Lampakes, *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχ.*, I, 1892, p. 67; see also Bees, *op. cit.*, p. 88) the last two lines of which read: ἡ τις δὲ ἐπιχρήση, χρύσινα δ[---]. The final letter delta may stand for the numeral ten, or it may be the beginning of the word δ[γνάρια], possibly abbreviated.

The amount of the fine of five gold pieces is well above the normal price of a tomb, which was about one and a half solidi; see De Waele in Bees, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

The second part of the threat, τὴν ἀρχοντικὴν τιμονρίαν<sup>195</sup> probably refers to corporal punishment. For the office of the "Archon" who is to exact the punishment, see E. Hanton, *Byzantion*, IV, 1927-1928, pp. 67-68. In pagan times, the fine was paid to the treasurer of the Areopagus.

The tombstone is one of the largest of its kind, comparable in size, though not in workmanship, to *I.G.*, III, 3486 (height, 0.56 m.; width, 0.26 m.) and 3509 (height, 0.50 m.; width, 0.24 m.). The large incised cross, around which the first six lines of the inscription are engraved, finds its parallel in the somewhat larger cross on *I.G.*, III, 3463, where the inscription is arranged in a similar manner; see above, p. 15. For other examples of the "Latin" delta which occurs twice in line 4, see above, note 179.

A fragment of another similar document written around a cross was published in *Harmonia*, no. 12; it is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9973). According to Konstantopoulos, one face of this plaque (which is 0.03 m. thick) contained an almost entirely preserved incised cross within which the words Ἡ μακαρία Παῦλα were inscribed. The other face (which is illustrated here on Plate VIII) contained a large incised cross, of which only the right cross bar remains. Less than half of the width is therefore preserved, and there may have been another cross (with the name of Paula's husband inscribed within ?) on the obverse side of the plaque.

ΛΓΩΦ  
 ΓΟΥΑ  
 ΗΔΕ  
 † TAN  
 [A] Ω ΥΠΟ  
 ΙΚΤΟΝΕΝ  
 ΓΕΜ

The four horizontal guide lines which appear on this inscription are *ca.* 0.025 m. apart. The vertical guide line at the right of the cross was drawn to facilitate the engraving of the incised cross; see above, p. 22. Like Konstantopoulos, we too are unable to suggest a restoration. The last letter in the first line may be a phi and not a sigma (as Konstantopoulos suggests), for the sigmas in lines 2 and 6 are square; see above, note 70. Konstantopoulos (both in his text and on plate 3, 13) failed to report the final nu in line 4. The large omega which stands under the right arm of the cross

<sup>193</sup> See Hultsch, *R.E.*, s.v. *denarius*, col. 214, no. 15; H. Ingholt, *Berytus*, III, 1936, pp. 110-111; A. Segrè, *Byzantion*, XV, 1940-1941, pp. 272-275; L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 137-139.

<sup>194</sup> See *I.G.*, IV, 190 (Aigina; see E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, p. 44, plate 11), 437 (Sikyon); VII, 26 (Megara, *ca.* 470 A.D.); *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, nos. 30-32 (Corinth). For the spelling χρύσινα = χρύσινα, see above, note 119.

<sup>195</sup> Like τῇ κεφαλτικῇ τιμωρίᾳ; see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, II, s.v. *τιμωρία*, and, especially, *S.E.G.*, VII, no. 171: κεφαλτικὴν ὑπομένη τιμωρίαν; compare also *S.E.G.*, VIII, No. 13. For the spelling of τιμονρία = τιμωρία, see above, note 120.



must have been balanced by a corresponding alpha under the left arm of the cross (see above, note 91), and does not, therefore, belong to the text of the inscription. There are traces of a seventh line. Only the epsilon is clearly visible. It may have been preceded by tau or sigma, and followed by mu or omega.

**16** (Plate VIII). Inscribed plaque of coarse marble with greenish veins, found in 1931, in Section B. The stone is broken on all sides.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.047 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 152.

[Κατοι] † κη[τή]  
[ριον] Πω[-<sup>2-3</sup>-]  
[- - - - -]

It is assumed that the large incised cross stood in the middle of the first line; for this type of arrangement, see above, p. 15. For the use of [κατοι]κη[τήριον], see *I.G.*, III, 3508; compare No. XIII (κατοική). Another possible restoration of the first line would be [θή] † κη.<sup>196</sup> The main objection to this restoration is the large size of the letters, *ca.* 0.035 m., and the thickness of the stone (0.047 m.), both of which indicate that the plaque was of considerable width. The letters of the second line (Πω) belong to the name of the deceased.

**17** (Plate VIII). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on May 12, 1933, in Section Z. Part of the right side and the smooth back are preserved.

Height, 0.096 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 789.

[Κοιμητήρ]ιον  
[-<sup>ca. 6</sup>-]έας  
[κε<sup>ca. 5</sup>-ο]υ.

The restoration of this fragment as a Christian tombstone is uncertain. It is assumed that the name of the husband follows that of his wife; this order is exceptional; see above, note 32.

**18** (Plate VIII). Inscribed plaque of Hymettian marble, found on May 10, 1933, in Section Θ. The upper left corner may be preserved.

Height, 0.176 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.033 m.

Height of letters, 0.039-0.053 m.

Inv. No. I 801.

† Κ[νμτ]  
ίριος[ν<sup>3</sup>Α]  
υδ[ρέα].

The restoration of the name is uncertain, and the division of κ[νμτ]ίριον is unusual; see *I.G.*, III, 3450 (= Bayet, no. 125 and plate II, no. 6). For the spelling of κ[νμτ]ίριον; see above, note 109.

**19** (Plate VIII). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on March 6, 1934, in Section Κ. The stone is broken above, below and at the left.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.043 m.

Height of letters, 0.016-0.034 m.

Inv. No. I 1527.

Α † Ω  
[Μνη]μόριον  
[-<sup>ca. 4</sup>-]του κ[έ]  
[- - -]

For a discussion of the symbols at the top of this epitaph, see above, notes 75 and 91. The word *μνημόριον* occurs on several other Attic funerary inscriptions: *I.G.*, III, 3493 ([μνη]-μήριον), 3513 (*μνημόριον*), 3530 ([μ]νημόριον); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11782 (*μνημόριον*). Instead of κ[έ] at the end of the second line, there may have been used the abbreviation for *καί*; see above, pp. 11-12.

<sup>196</sup> This term occurs in Bayet, no. 84 (restored), *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1925-1926, p. 97, fig. 2, and, in a different position, in *I.G.*, III, 3509, line 4; it is also found among the pagan inscriptions (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12525).

**20** (Plate VIII). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on March 16, 1936, in Section Σ. The back, with traces of a moulding at the top (from an earlier use), is preserved.

Height, 0.074 m.; width, 0.076 m.; thickness, 0.034 m.

Height of letters, 0.016-0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 3817.

[Κοι]μητ[ήριον]  
[Φιλ]οπο[---]

It is assumed that the word [κοι]μητ[ήριον] did not extend into the second line because the three preserved letters of this line, οπο, apparently belong to the middle of a name. The restoration of this name is uncertain; among possibilities are [Καλ]οπο[---] and [Θε]οπο[---].

**21** (Plate IX). Inscribed plaque of Hymettian marble, found on March 29, 1919, in Section BB.

Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.083 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5744.

[Κνμη]τήριον[ν]  
[Θεοφ]άντ[ον].

The restoration of the name is uncertain. A pair of guide lines (*ca.* 0.003 m. apart) appear below the letters of the first line, and another single guide line (*ca.* 0.012 m. below the second of these) appears above the letters of the second line; see above, note 138.

**22** (Plate IX). Inscribed plaque of Island marble, found on March 20, 1936, in Section N. Part of the upper left corner is preserved.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.064 m.; thickness, 0.052 m.

Height of letters, 0.025-0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 3797.

<sup>197</sup> See, however, Bayet, no. 58 = *I.G.*, III, 3501; compare, for a late example of the early omega, S. N. Marinatos, *Ἐπετηρίς*, VII, 1930, p. 390, fig. 2.

† Κ[οιμητήριον]  
τω[-<sup>ca.</sup> 9-]

The restoration depends on the reading of the second letter of line 2. The remains of a curved stroke near the top, and the trace of a horizontal base-stroke would clearly suggest an omega, but there is no certain occurrence of this early form of the letter in any other Christian text from Athens.<sup>197</sup> Assuming that an omega may be read, the restoration τω[ν μακαρίων] is suggested by *I.G.*, III, 3440. If the traces of the omega are disregarded, the first two lines may be restored as † Κ[οιμη]-τ[ήριον].

**23** (Plate IX). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on April 24, 1936, in Section Σ. Part of the left side is preserved.

Height, 0.186 m.; width, 0.087 m.; thickness, 0.076 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 4062.

† Κν[μητήρι]  
ον[-<sup>ca.</sup> 5-]  
εον[-<sup>ca.</sup> 4-]  
λο[- - -].

The epitaph probably recorded the death of a man and his wife; their names cannot be restored with certainty. It seems likely that the husband's name stood first, and that it ended in line 3, where the final upsilon of the genitive ending omikron upsilon is partially preserved. It may have been followed by καί and a woman's name, or by a word indicating the man's occupation. There is an uninscribed space below, which indicates that this was the last line of the inscription.

**24** (Plate IX). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on June 7, 1933, in Section H. The stone is broken on all sides.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, 0.015-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 948.

$[-^{ca. 7} -]$  λ'ρ[υ]  
[διαφέρω]ντα Σω  
[†  $^{ca. 6}$  -]χας. †

The Christian character of the inscription is indicated by the trace of a cross after the sigma of the third line (only the upright of the cross is visible in the photograph). No convincing restoration is suggested for the text. The letters NTA, in line 2, may belong to the end of the word [διαφέρω]ντα,<sup>198</sup> but the lacuna in line 3 seems to be too long for restoring in it a woman's name: Σω[- $^{ca. 6}$  -]χα. For the construction of διαφέρων with the genitive, see above, note 185. The letters of the first line may contain the end of a name.

**25** (Plate IX). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on February 1, 1934, in Section Z. Parts of the roughly picked top and of the smooth back are preserved; the other sides are broken.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.152 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 1247.

[†] † †  
[κοιμη]τήριον

Above the first line, three tall and narrow crosses were engraved, the left one of which has to be restored; for a discussion of this arrangement, see above, p. 14.

**26** (Plate IX). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on March 5, 1936, in Section MM. The thin stone which originally served as a revetment is broken on top and bottom.

Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.02 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 3672.

[Κοιμη]  
[τήριον]  
[- $^{ca. 4}$  -]ίας  
[Ἀλ]εξαν  
5 [δ]ρίνης.

It is assumed that this is a Christian tombstone because the name occurs in the genitive, depending presumably on κοιμητήριον which has been restored in the first two lines. The form of the ethnic (see above, note 38) [Ἀλ]εξαν- [δ]ρίνη instead of the common Attic form Ἀλεξανδρίτης (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8002, 8007, 8009, 8010, 8013, 8019, 8024-8026, 8030, 8037, 8038) may be another indication of the Christian character although this form of the ethnic is attested by Strabo (XIII, 1, 36) and, for the Hadrianic period, by Stephanos (*s. v.* Ἀλεξάνδρειαι): Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ Ἑρμείου ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας πρώτῃ ταῦτα πάντα κυροῖ, καὶ τὸ Ἀλεξανδρίνος καὶ τὸ Ἀλεξανδρίνης (probably for Ἀλεξανδρίνη), οὐ μέντοι τὸ Ἀλεξανδρέωτης. Attention may also be called to the use of guide-lines (*ca.* 0.035 m. apart) which has been observed on many other early Christian inscriptions (see above, note 138), and to the fact that the plaque originally served as a revetment (see above, note 145).

**27** (Plate IX). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on May 25, 1936, in Section Σ. The back is smooth.

Height, 0.068 m.; width, 0.081 m.; thickness, 0.02 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 4207.

[Κοιμητή]ριον

This stone originally served as a revetment, and was reused as a Christian tombstone; see above, note 145. There is a thin guide line above the letters, and another one *ca.* 0.028 m. below; see above, note 138. This fragment may belong to the same epitaph as No. 26. Their thickness is identical, and they both originally

<sup>198</sup> See *I.G.*, III, 3477, 3511; *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, nos. 33, 43, 59, 62; *Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 148.



served as revetments. Yet the distance between the guide lines is not the same, and the letters on No. 26 seem to be smaller and more crowded.

**28** (Plate IX). Inscribed pillar of Pentelic marble, found in the summer of 1933, in the southwest corner of Section Z. The stone is broken away at the bottom and along the left edge. On the right side is a moulding from an earlier use of the stone; see above, note 145. Part of a dowel cutting is visible on top, and a pivot hole for a door can be seen at the lower end of the inscribed face. The inscribed surface is crumbly, and little can be read except for the first two lines.

Height, 0.585 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 1061.

†  
[Κ]υμῆ  
[τ]ήριον  
[— — —]  
[— — —]  
5 [—<sup>ca. 3</sup>—]ιτ

The letter read as tau in line 5 may be part of the inscription which continued beyond this line; or it may be a cross indicating the end of the text.

**29** (Plate IX). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on June 10, 1931, in Section E. The back and the curved right side are preserved.

Height, 0.295 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 24.

[Κοιμητήρι]ον.  
[ ϣ ] ϣ

<sup>199</sup> *I.G.*, III, 3486. Mention of the indiction occurs frequently on the Christian epitaphs from Corinth; see *C.G.-C.I.*, I, 1, nos. 31, 34, 44, 49, 53 (= *Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 164), 58 (= *Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 170), 60, 62; *Corinth*, VIII, 1, nos. 147, 151, 162, 163, 167.

The fragment apparently belongs to the upper part of a peculiarly shaped grave stele. There are traces of letters (or of an ornament ?) visible above the one line of the inscription. The restoration of this line is uncertain, in fact it is unlikely to be correct if the cross below stood exactly underneath the centre of the line; a second cross has therefore been restored. The cross is in the form of the *crux monogrammatica* with the closed rho; see above, p. 16.

**30** (Plate X). Inscribed plaque of Pentelic marble, found on February 22, 1939, in Section MM. The left edge and back of the stone are preserved. The back is smooth, and shows signs of having been cut by a saw; the fragment was apparently used before as a revetment; see above, note 145.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.082 m.; thickness, 0.015 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5677.

μ[— — —]  
ε[— — —]  
υ[— — —]

There is an uninscribed space below the last line. The three guide lines are *ca.* 0.024 m. apart; see above, note 138. It is tempting to restore the last line as *ἐν[δικτιῶνος]* (probably abbreviated), for this word is found on one early Christian epitaph from Athens.<sup>199</sup>

**31** (Plate X). Inscribed plaque of Hymettian marble, found on November 28, 1938, in Section EE. The stone is broken on all sides, but the back is preserved. A heavy line separates the first line of the text from the following lines.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.168 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5631.

†Ι(ησοῦ)ς Χ[(ριστό)ς]

† Μαιτᾶ[τον - - -]  
τουτο [- - -]

For the occurrence of †Ι(ησοῦ)ς Χ[(ριστό)ς] at the beginning of a funerary inscription, see Bayet, no. 10 (see above, note 7). This monogram may have continued with Κ(ύριο)ς or with the verb Νικᾷ (possibly abbreviated; see above, note 59). The thickness of the stone (0.042 m.) shows that the original width cannot have been much more than twice the width of the preserved fragment. Thus about half of the second and third lines is preserved. The restoration μαιτᾶ[τον], or μαιτα[τόριον], suggested by H. Grégoire, assumes a peculiar spelling of this word. *Metatum* is used in medieval Latin in the meaning of *aedes propria*, *domicilium*, *interdum hospitium*, and was transcribed in Greek as *μυτάτον*.<sup>200</sup> It also occurs, however, in the spelling *μητᾶτον*, and is given the translation "mansion, lodging"; from it is derived *μητατόριον*, "the deacon's place in the inner sanctuary."<sup>201</sup> If the inscription under discussion is an epitaph, *μητᾶτον* may here be used in the same meaning as *οἰκητήριον* or *οἶκος αἰώνιος*. G. Soteriou suggested reading and restoring μαιτὰ (for μετὰ) τῶν ἀγίων.

**32** (Plate X). Inscribed fragment of a block of Hymettian marble, found on January 3, 1935, in Section II. The stone is broken at the left and at the bottom; both top and back are smoothly picked. The block was reused for the Christian inscription; see above, note 145.

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.147 m.; thickness, 0.495 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 2280.

[- - -]ος †  
[- - -]τον

The great thickness of the stone (0.495 m.) shows that this is no ordinary tombstone. The word to which the three letters of the second line belong (possibly a name) may have continued in a third line which did not extend over the full width of the stone.

**33** (Plate X). Plaque of Hymettian marble, found in 1933, in Section H. The left side and part of the bottom and back are preserved.

Height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 1070.

Κ(ύρι)ε νίκα.  
[σω]τήρ.

The line over the first two letters (ΚΕ) indicates an abbreviation; see above, note 59. It is clear that the second letter is an epsilon and not a sigma. The vocative abbreviation of this name does occur on an inscription from Asia Minor (*M.A.M.A.*, I, no. 434), but the phrase Χριστός νικᾷ is found on many Christian inscriptions; see, for example, W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (1908), nos. 124, 201, and 219. The restoration of the second line is fairly certain, although only the letters tau and eta-rho (in ligature) are preserved. It is probable that we should read Κύριε σωτήρ νίκα (Lord Saviour Conquer), or, if the nominative was really meant, Κύριος σωτήρ νικᾷ.

The large Greek cross, cut within a raised circle, apparently covered most of the front face of the stone. If this was a tombstone, the name of the deceased was probably written in the lower right corner, or above the cross. The bird in the lower left corner was probably balanced by another at the right; see above, note 96. We illustrate here *Harmonia*, no. 22, now kept in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 9981), because it shows the same type of cross as the Agora inscription (see above, note 77),

<sup>200</sup> See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, *s.v.* *metare*.

<sup>201</sup> See Sophocles, *Greek Lexikon*, *s.v.* *μητᾶτον* and *s.v.* *μητατόριον*; compare *S.E.G.*, VII, no. 110.

and thus helps in the dating of the latter. Without this parallel, one may be inclined to date No. 33 in a later period, but it may well belong to the fifth or sixth century.

E.M. 9989 Ω † Α  
Κοιμη[τήριον]  
ν Ἑπα[γάθου].

For the omega alpha, see above, note 92; for the guide lines, which are *ca.* 0.025 m. apart, see above, note 138. The text of this inscription is mentioned by Bees, *op. cit.*, p. 94. For

the peculiar division of κοιμη[τήριον]|ν, compare *I.G.*, III, 3453.

34 (Plate X). Inscribed plaque of blue marble, found on February 3, 1936, in Section N. The stone is broken on all sides.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.026 m.

Inv. No. I 3326.

†

It may well be that the monogram belongs to an architectural block and not to a tombstone; see above, note 87 and p. 16.

### XIII. CONCORDANCE OF THE PUBLICATIONS

In order to facilitate further study of the early Christian inscriptions from Athens, a table of concordances, listing the more important collections, has been appended. Whenever possible, the inventory number of the Epigraphical Museum and a reference to later publications have been added.

<i>I.G.</i> , III	E. M.	Bayet	Later Publications	<i>I.G.</i> , III	E. M.	Bayet	Later Publications
1383	9928/9	118		3453		3	
1384	9940	41		3454	9890/1	25	
1385		98		3455	9888/9	4	
1386	9876	38		3456	9941	24	
1387	9930	80		3457		104	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 13240
1427 <i>b, c</i>	12003	42	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 13216, <i>B, C</i>	3458		49	
1428		32		3459	9892	77	
1449	10743	99	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 13075	3460		68	
1455	12220	120	<i>Supra</i> , note 1	3461	9893	69	
1467		43	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 12825	3462	9894	15	
3435	9868	75		3463	9895	17	
3436	9869	21		3464	9897	2	
3437	9870	51	No. I	3465	9898	8	No. III
3438		66	No. II	3466	9896	16	
3439	9771	50		3467	9900/1	5	
3440	9871	65		3468		19	
3441	9872	91		3469			
3442		39		3470	9942	18	
3443		97		3471	9951	59	
3444	9873	44		3472	9899	85	
3445		101		3473	9902		
3446		103		3474	9903	61	
3447		28		3475	9904	20	
3448		36		3476	9907	70	
3449	9874	67		3477	9908	57	
3450		125		3478	9905/6	86	
3451	9875	40		3479		54	
3452		6		3480		46	



<i>I.G.</i> , III	E. M.	Bayet	Later Publications	<i>I.G.</i> , III	E. M.	Bayet	Later Harmonia Publications
3481 <i>a</i>	9909	71		3529	9939	26	
3481 <i>b</i>	2252	55	No. I	3530	9876	94	
3482	9910/1			3531	7877/8 <sup>204</sup>	76	
3483		47		3532	9883	88	
3484	9912	27		3533	5800	124	<i>C.I.I.</i> , I, no. 714
3485		14		3534	9879		
3486	9913/4			3535			
3487	9915	83	No. IV	3536	9881/2	45	
3488	9943	22		3537	9884		
3489		31		3538	9698		
3490				3539	9880		
3491	9921	90		3540	9886		
3492	9920	89		3541	9885		
3493		52		3542		33	
3494	9919			3543	5751	63	
3495				3544	9948	92	
3496	9918	73		3545	9927	121	<i>C.I.I.</i> , I, no. 712
3497	9917			3546	9887	122	<i>C.I.I.</i> , I, no. 713
3498	9916	7		3547	9949/50	123	<i>C.I.I.</i> , I, no. 715
3499	9922			3856	9926		
3500	9923	72				10	<i>Supra</i> , note 7
3501		58				11	No. X
3502	9944	37	No. V		4258	13	No. XI
3503		34				56	
3504		62				60	
3505 <sup>203</sup>	9924	29			9967	79	2 No. XII
3506		9			9977	81	19 No. XIII
3507		30				82	
3508		53			3062	84	
3509	9925	107			9982	87	31 No. XIV
3510					9988	95	20 No. XV
3511		64				106	
3512		12	No. VI		9954	108	<i>I.G.</i> , VII, 175
3513	9932	102				109	<i>I.G.</i> , VII, 170-171
3514	9933	96				110	<i>I.G.</i> , VII, 176
3515	3474					111	<i>I.G.</i> , VII, 178
3516	9935	74				112	
3516 <i>a</i> <sup>203</sup>	9934		No. VII			113	<i>I.G.</i> , VII, 177
3517	9936	23	No. VIII			114	
3518	9937	35			9953	115	<i>I.G.</i> , VII, 174
3519	9949	119				116	<i>I.G.</i> , VII, 172
3520						117	<i>I.G.</i> , VII, 173
3521/2	9946	1			9964/5		1
3523	9947	93			9966		3 No. XVII
3524					9968		4 No. XVIII
3525	9938	78			49		5 No. XIX
3526		48			9969		6 No. XX
3527		105			9971		7
3528		100			678		8

<sup>202</sup> Reference to Koumanoudes is no. 3619, and not 3169 as in *I.G.*, III.

<sup>203</sup> Reference to Koumanoudes is 'Αθήναιον, VI, 1877, pp. 384-385, and not p. 7 as in *I.G.*, III.

<sup>204</sup> Squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study is marked 3877.

## EARLY CHRISTIAN EPITAPHS FROM ATHENS

<i>I.G.</i> , III	E. M.	Harmonia	Later Publications	<i>I.G.</i> , III	E. M.	Harmonia	Later Publications
	9970	9	No. XXI		9987	25	
	9972	10	No. XXII		9957	26	<i>Supra</i> , pp. 2-3
	9994	11			9989	27	
	9973	12	<i>Supra</i> , p. 44			28	
	9963	13	<i>Supra</i> , pp. 2-3		9978	29	
	9995	14	<i>Supra</i> , note 12		9984	30	
	9976	15	No. XXIII		9983	32	
	9959	16	<i>Supra</i> , pp. 2-3		9985	33	<i>Supra</i> , note 12
	9960	17	<i>Supra</i> , pp. 2-3		9986	34	
	9974	18	<i>Supra</i> , note 12		9996	35	<i>Supra</i> , note 12
	9979	21				36	<i>Supra</i> , note 12
	9981	22	<i>Supra</i> , pp. 49-50	4658 +	9922/3	37	<i>Supra</i> , note 12
	9980	23			9990	38	<i>Supra</i> , note 12
		24			9992		

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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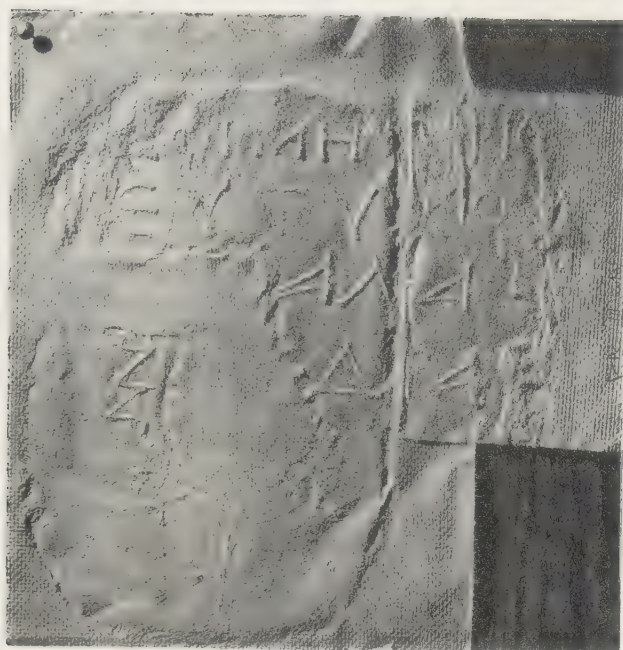
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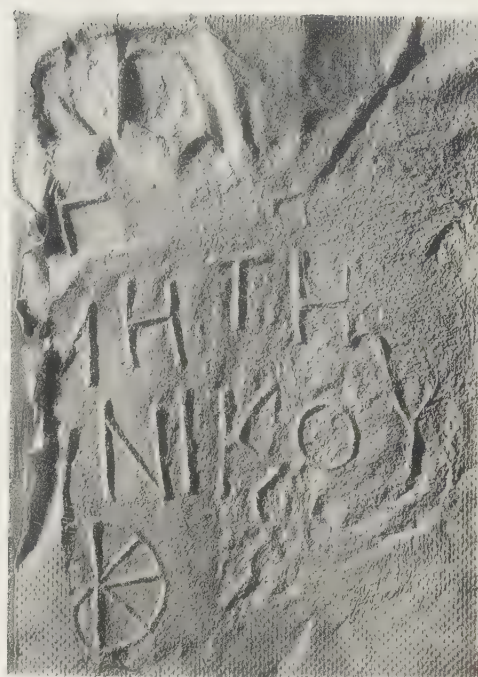
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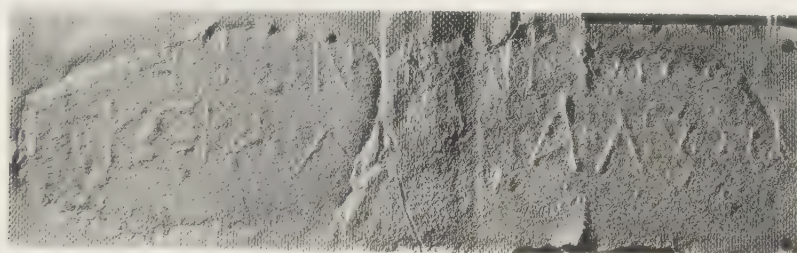
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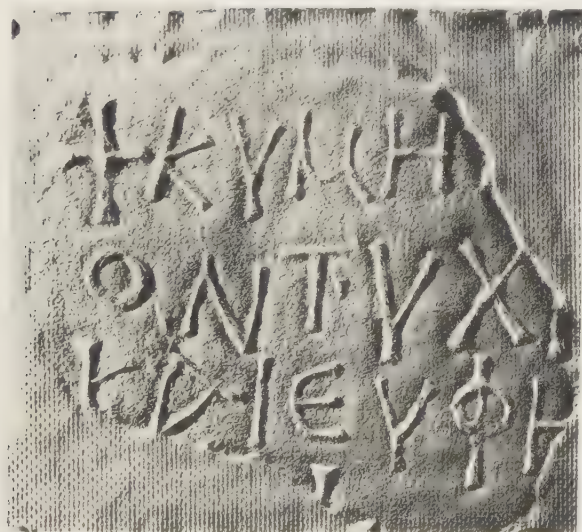
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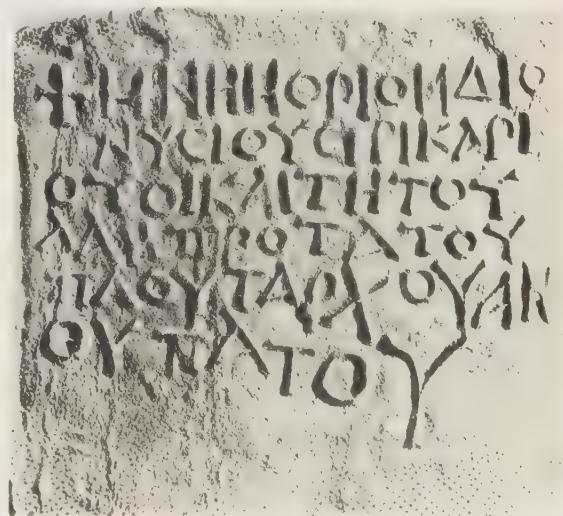
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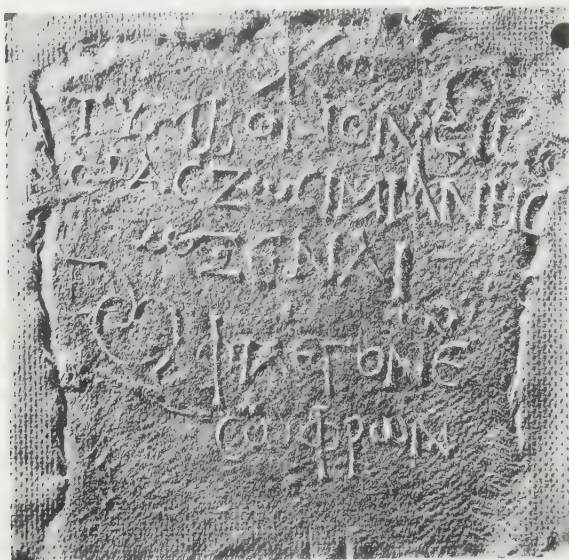
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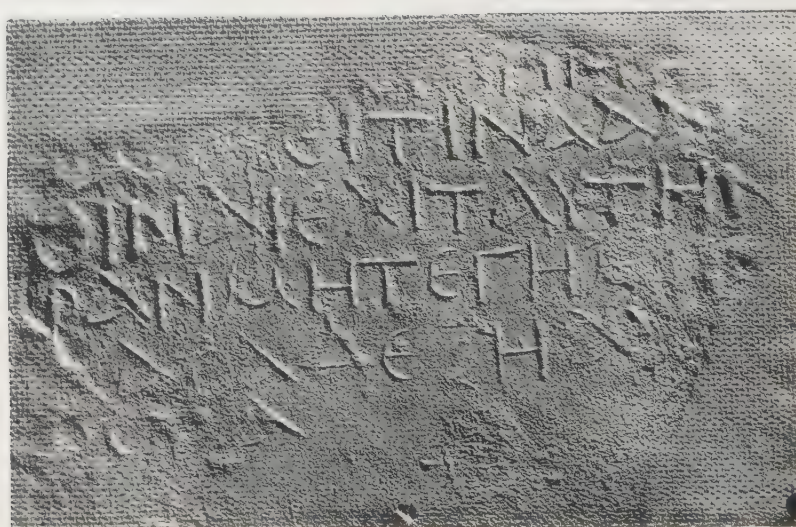
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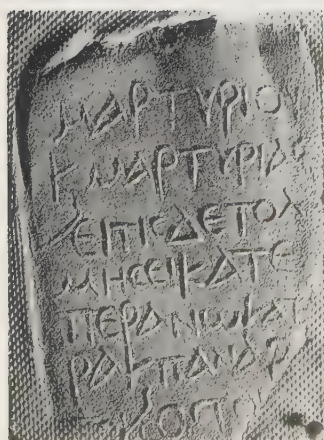
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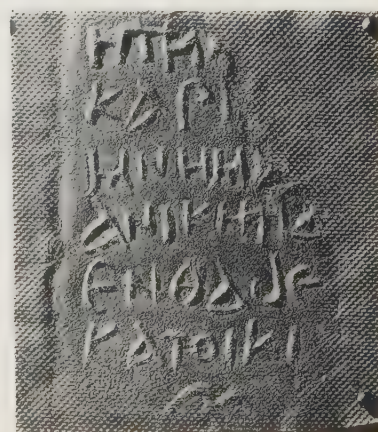
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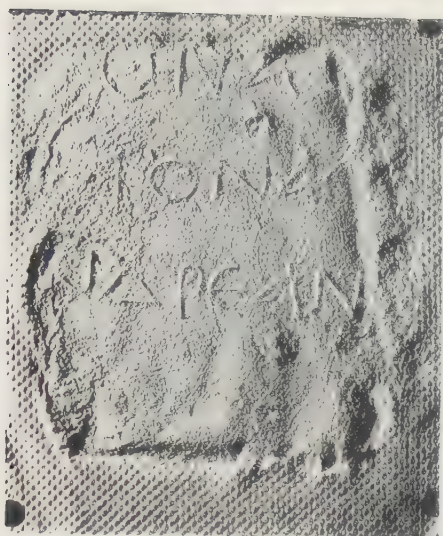


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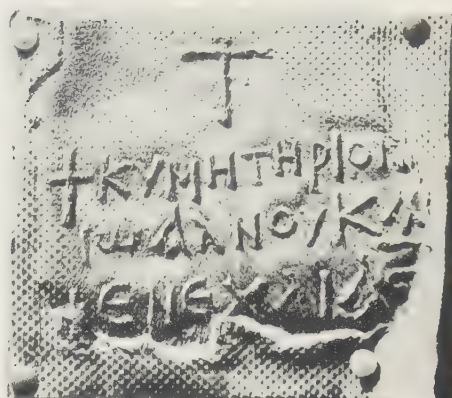


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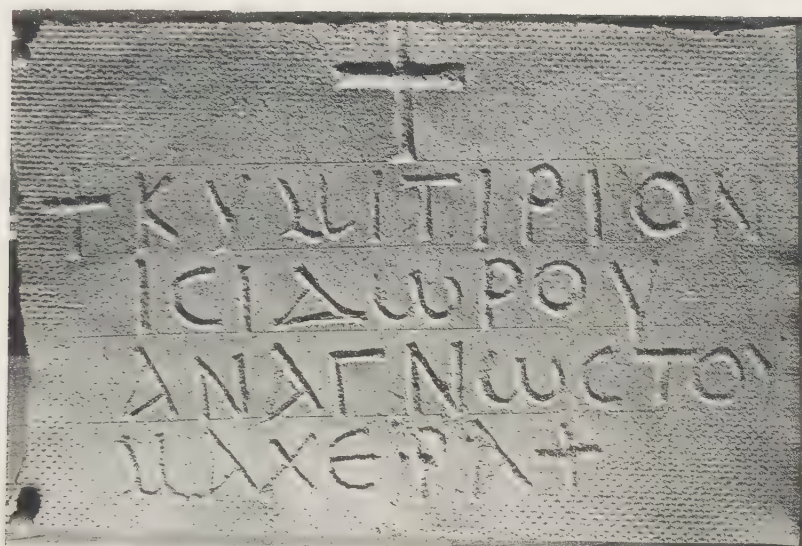




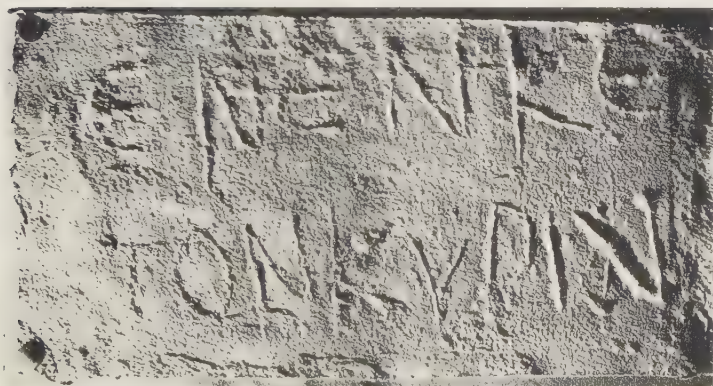
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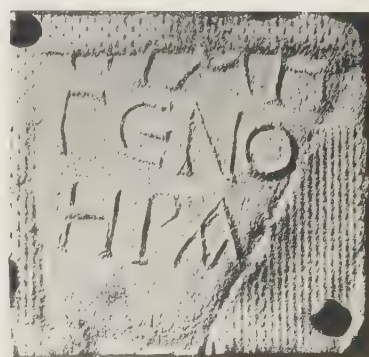
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XV



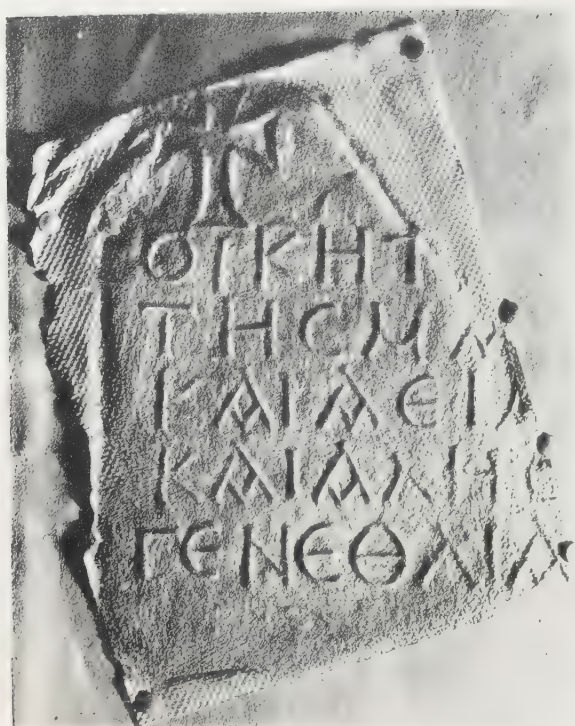
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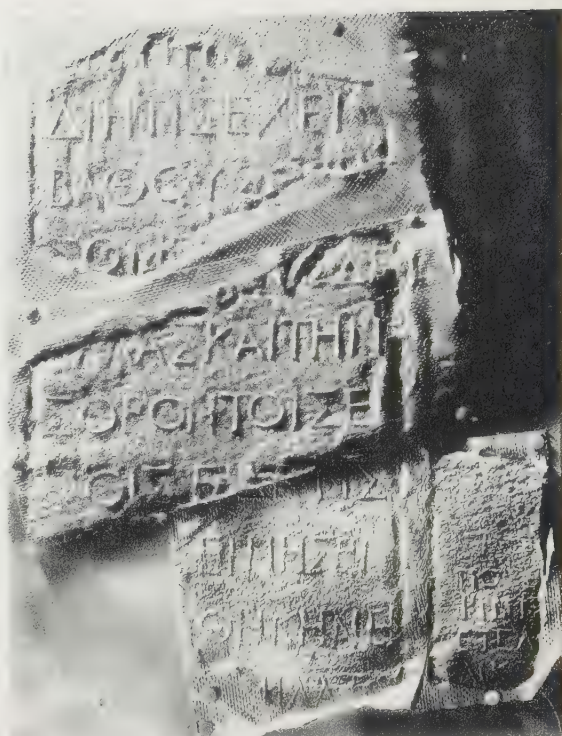
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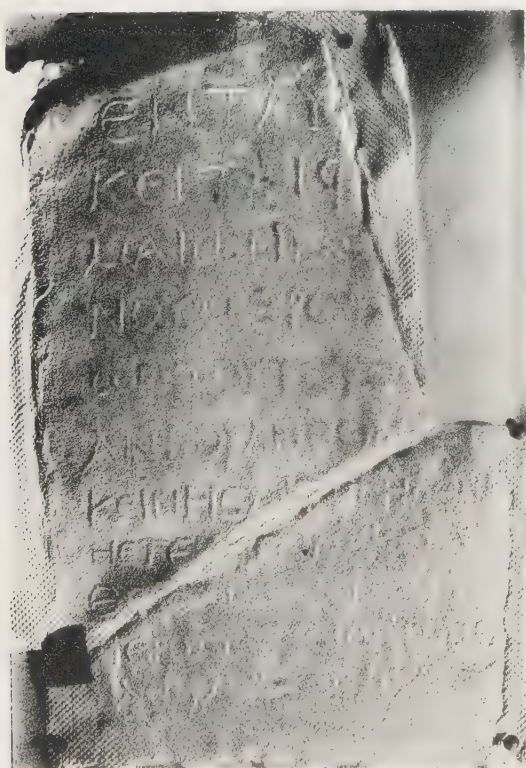
PLATE IV



XVIII



XIX



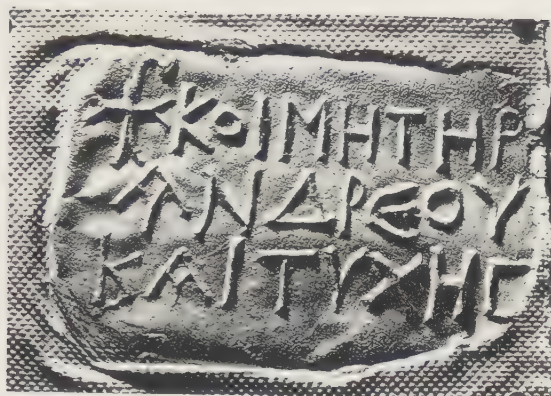
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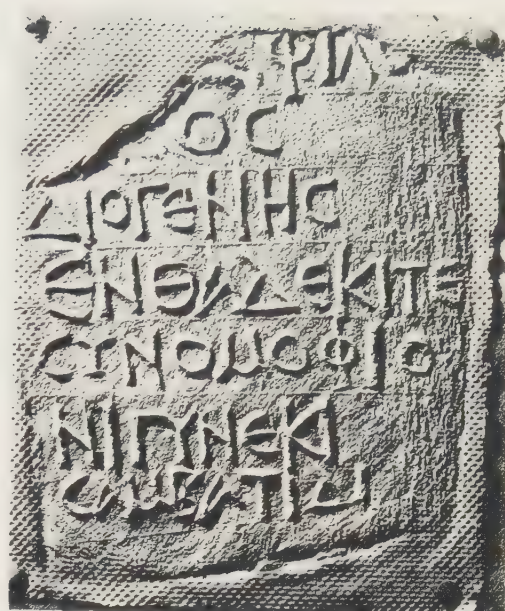
XXI

Nos. XVIII-XXI (all from Squeezes)

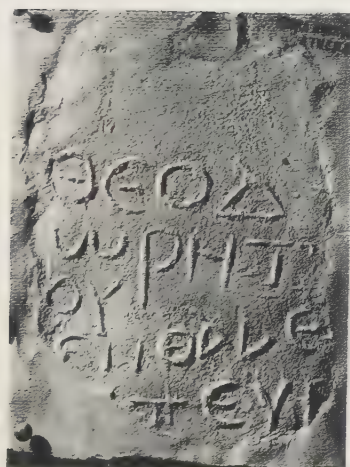




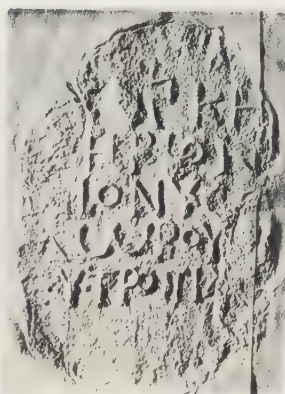
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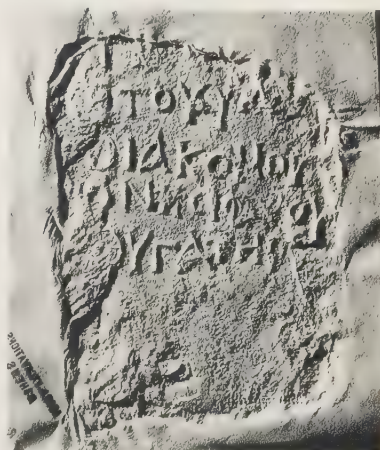
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1



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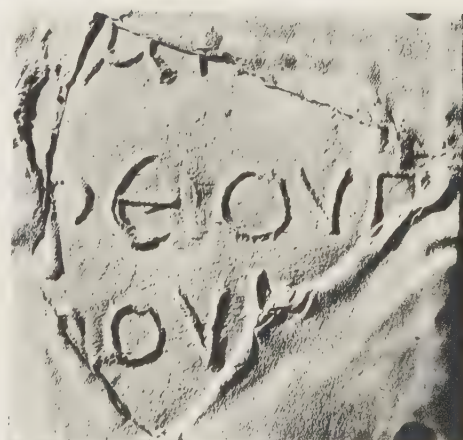
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7



4



PLATE VI



5



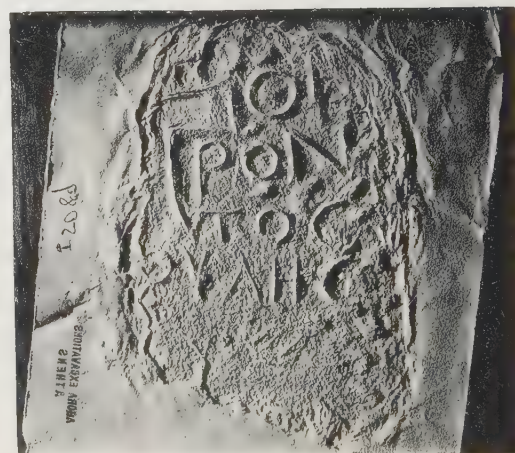
9



8



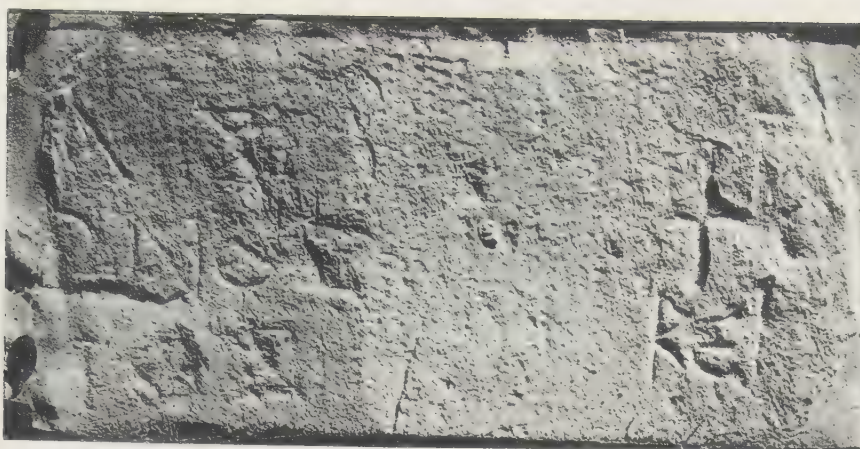
10



11

Nos. 5, 8-11 (No. 10 from the Stone, the rest from Squeezes)

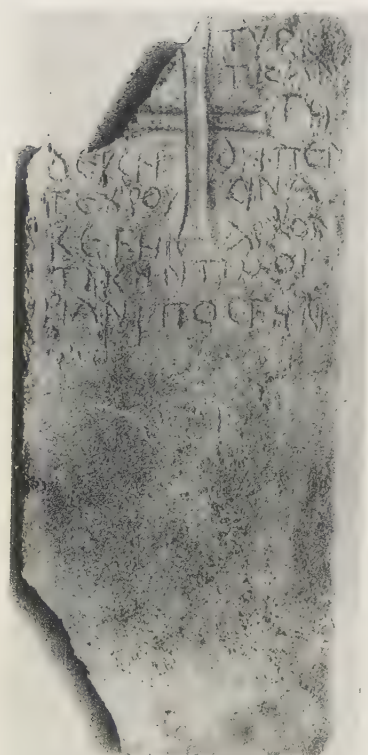




12



13



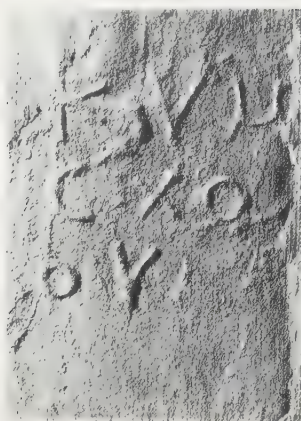
15 (from Stone)



15 (from Squeeze)



PLATE VIII



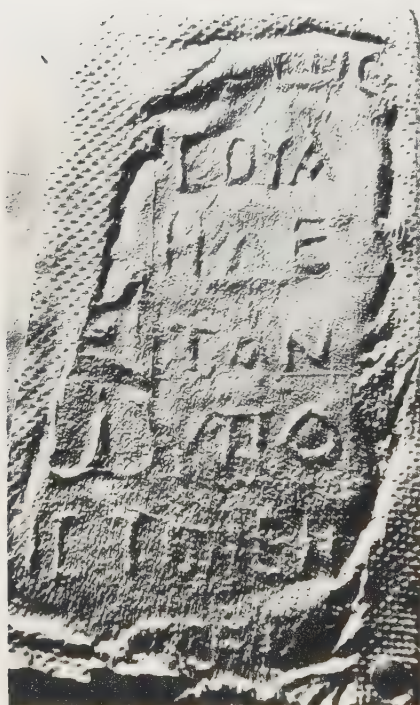
14



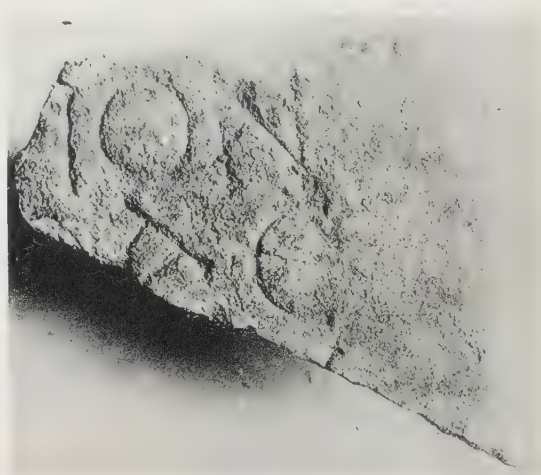
16



18



EM 9973 (cf. No. 15)



17



20

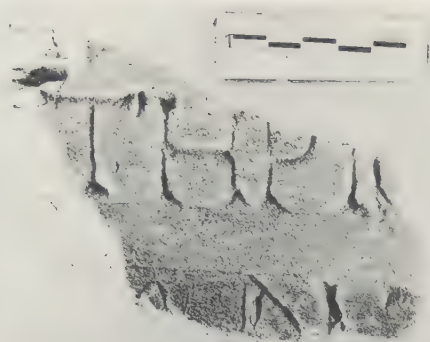


19

Nos. 14, 16-20, and EM 9973 (Nos. 17-19 from the Stone, the rest from Squeezes)



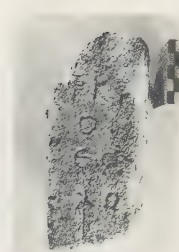
PLATE IX



21



22



23



24



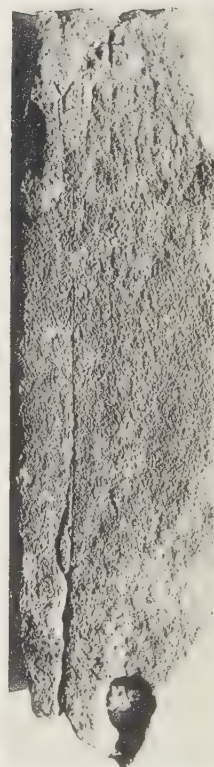
25



26



29



28



27

PLATE X



30



31



33



32



34



EM 9981 (cf. No. 33)

Nos. 30-34 and EM 9981 (Nos. 30-31, 33 from the Stone, the rest from Squeezes)



## L'ARCHONTE ATHÉNIEN DIOCLÈS

(139/8 av. J.-C.)

UN NOUVEAU décret d'orgéons, du II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., a été publié par N. Kyparissis et W. Peek en 1941.<sup>1</sup> Il apporte une contribution précieuse à l'établissement de la liste des archontes athéniens. Réunis sous l'archontat de *Timarchos*, les orgéons louent en effet les mérites que leur épimélète Sérapion s'est acquis sous l'archontat de *Dioclès*. Aucun doute: les deux magistratures se succèdent sans intervalle, une séquence *Dioclès-Timarchos* est assurée dans le cours du II<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Les deux éditeurs ont bien dégagé ce fait essentiel, dont ils marquent la nouveauté; mais, faute de considérer l'ensemble des documents relatifs aux archontes du nom de *Dioclès*, ils se sont engagés sur une route sans issue. Ils croient en effet à la nécessité de créer un nouvel archonte *Timarchos*; plus ancien que celui qui est attesté en 138/7: "Damit [avec l'apparition du couple *Dioclès-Timarchos*] entfällt die Möglichkeit, Timarchos mit dem Archon des Jahres 138/7 gleichzusetzen, denn der Archon Diokles des delischen Inventars Inscr. de Délos 1444, 59 kann dies Amt in Athen nicht später als allenfalls 141/0 bekleidet haben . . ." (p. 232). Quoique l'écriture leur paraisse se rapprocher tout particulièrement du décret *Hesperia*, 1940, p. 126, n° 26, qui date de l'année 135/4, ils en arrivent à proposer soit la période 150/49-148/7, soit les premières décades du siècle pour le couple *Dioclès-Timarchos*.

En bonne méthode il convient plutôt de s'accrocher à l'archonte *Timarchos*, dont la magistrature est fermement établie en 138/7. Les chronologies récentes, celles de Dinsmoor et celle de Pritchett-Meritt, montrent assez que l'année 139/8 n'est pas attribuée avec certitude et qu'aucun nom de prédécesseur n'était jusqu'ici lié à celui de *Timarchos*; en fait on peut dire que l'année 139/8 est disponible.

Le nom *Dioclès* évoque seulement, pour Kyparissis et Peek, l'archonte que Dinsmoor avait placé d'abord en 148/7, puis—avec deux points d'interrogation—en 159/8;<sup>2</sup> depuis lors Pritchett et Meritt se sont avisés que ce *Dioclès* devait être un archonte délien.<sup>3</sup> Mais il y a un autre *Dioclès* au second siècle, et son cas mérite d'être examiné attentivement.

On est d'accord aujourd'hui pour le placer en 104/103, avec un point d'interroga-

<sup>1</sup> *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Ath. Abt.*, tome 66, (daté de 1941, distribué en 1943), pp. 228-232. Il est regrettable que W. S. Ferguson n'ait pas pu connaître, à temps pour les insérer dans sa belle étude (*The Attic Orgeones*, *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 37, 1944, pp. 61-143), l'inscription et le bas-relief qui la surmonte. Découverte par hasard en 1933 la pierre n'avait jamais été signalée à l'attention des archéologues; elle mériterait une nouvelle publication.

<sup>2</sup> *Archons* (1931), pp. 268-269; *List* (1939), p. 24 et p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronology* (1940), p. 129.



tion. Sur quoi repose cette date, plus ou moins approximative? <sup>4</sup> Deux textes ont été attribués à son archontat. Tout récemment Dinsmoor <sup>5</sup> a restitué son nom dans le décret *Prytaneis*, n° 96 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 989), et Pritchett-Meritt ont entériné cette attribution. <sup>6</sup> En réalité ce document n'intéresse pas notre propos et peut très bien appartenir à l'année 104/3, avec un nom d'archonte qui reste à trouver. L'inscription fondamentale, la seule où figurait jusqu'ici le nom de cet archonte *Dioclès*, est la dédicace *Inscr. de Délos*, 1580, en l'honneur d'un prince bithynien:

[Νικο]μήδην  
 [βασιλέως] Νικομήδου  
 [Εὐεργέτου ο]ἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες  
 [ἐπὶ ἄρχοντ]ος Διοκλέους  
 5 [γυμνασιαρ]χοῦντος *vide*  
 [...<sup>6-8</sup>... το]ῦ Γηροστράτου  
 [Πειραιέως] τὸν ἑαυτῶν  
 [εὐεργέτην] Ἀπόλλωνι  
 [ἐπὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ --]ώρου τοῦ Φ ---- ου Στειριέως

Pour cette dédicace il y a, dit Roussel, <sup>7</sup> un *terminus post quem* rigoureux: "Le gymnasiarque --- Γηροστράτου --- est certainement postérieur à 112/1," car il ne figure pas dans la liste chronologique des gymnasiarques de 167/6 à 112/1 que nous a conservée l'inscription délienne n° 2589. Dès lors la dédicace, où le personnage honoré n'a pas encore le titre royal, ne peut concerner que le futur Nicomède IV Philopator, fils de ce Nicomède III Evergète dont Théodore Reinach a si brillamment démontré l'existence et retracé la carrière. <sup>8</sup>

Mais l'affirmation de Roussel est trop absolue; la liste des gymnasiarques (*Inscr. de Délos*, 2589) est mutilée: des noms ont disparu pour 147/6, 145/4, 128/7; et en 139/8 le nom du gymnasiarque se borne à:

[15 l. environ]άτου Ἀναφλύστιος.

<sup>4</sup> "Entre 105 et 102," "en 95/4," "en 104/3," telles sont les dates successivement envisagées depuis le livre de Pierre Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne* (1916). Dinsmoor et Pritchett-Meritt l'inscrivent en 104/3.

<sup>5</sup> *List*, pp. 201-203.

<sup>6</sup> *Chronology*, p. xxxv. Ils ne donnent de référence qu'à *Prytaneis*; mais Dow restituait là [ἄρχοντος Θεοδότου], et c'est Dinsmoor, en 1939, qui a proposé [Διοκλέους].

<sup>7</sup> *Délos col. ath.*, p. 374; cf. aussi *Inscr. de Délos*, commentaire du n° 1580.

<sup>8</sup> *Rev. numismatique* 1897, article repris dans *L'histoire par les monnaies* (1902), pp. 167-182; voir *B.C.H.*, 1933, pp. 77-82. Ce roi joue de malheur: ignoré encore dans l'index et la liste royale de *C.A.H.*, IX, p. 994 et 1023, il est méconnu, par suite d'un lapsus, dans F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscr. de Délos*, p. 173, n° 104, dernier paragraphe: c'est Nicomède III (et non son fils) qui, avec la reine Laodice (et non Stratonice; ce détail est corrigé dans un *addendum*), témoigne au sanctuaire de Delphes sa générosité.

Il n'y a aucune difficulté à restituer là [8 l. env. Γηροστρ]άτον et à recouper la dédicace éphébique. Le prince Nicomède de cette dédicace est donc en réalité le futur Evergète (Nicomède III); son père est Nicomède II Epiphane, et l'on écrira, ligne 3, [Ἐπιφανοῦς]<sup>9</sup> au lieu de [Εὐεργέτου]; le même Evergète, devenu roi en 127/6, est honoré par la dédicace *Inscr. de Délos*, 1579.

Un autre texte encore peut être invoqué. Le secrétaire de l'année 139/8 doit appartenir à la tribue *Oineis* (VII). Or dans le décret *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 978 ("circa annum 130"), [Περιθοίδ]ης est, pour le démotique du secrétaire, une restitution convenable;<sup>10</sup> et le nom de l'archonte, qui a disparu, occupait "environ 9 lettres"; il est tentant de restituer, ligne 2: [Ἐπὶ Διοκλέους] ἄρχοντος. Je n'ignore pas que Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 104, a voulu faire remonter ce décret jusqu'au début du siècle, "in the period shortly after 200 B.C." à cause de l'écriture,<sup>11</sup> mais je voudrais exprimer à ce sujet quelque scepticisme; une étude précise de la calligraphie lapidaire, à Athènes, au II<sup>e</sup> siècle, reste à entreprendre, et je doute même qu'elle puisse dégager des règles sûres.

Cependant l'attribution de *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 978, à *Dioclès* plutôt qu'à tout autre archonte n'intéresse pas directement notre démonstration. Je tiens seulement à marquer que l'année 199/8, dont le secrétaire doit appartenir à la tribu *Oineis* et à laquelle Meritt-Pritchett affectent *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 978, est en fait vacante et qu'elle pourrait en conséquence accueillir l'archonte *Apollodoros* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 973) qui, dans les chronologies de Dinsmoor et de Pritchett-Meritt, occupe l'année 139/8. Son secrétaire [*circa* 10 (nom + patronyme)] vos Ὁῆθεν, appartient à la tribu *Oineis*, et aucune année ne semble disponible en dehors de 199/8. A vrai dire, sans estampages ni photographies, je ne puis proposer pour *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 978 et pour *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 973 aucune attribution ferme; les deux hypothèses que j'envisage, et qui ne sont pas liées entre elles, impliqueraient d'ailleurs un nouvel examen de la répartition des années intercalaires et ordinaires. En revanche je considère comme assurée l'attribution de l'année 139/8 à un archonte *Dioclès*, défini par le nouveau décret orgéonique comme le prédécesseur immédiat de *Timarchos*, et connu déjà par la dédicace délienne, pour laquelle on avait indûment fixé un *terminus post quem* trop bas. Du même coup l'année 104/3, dépouillée de ce *Dioclès*, devient disponible.

GEORGES DAUX

SORBONNE

<sup>9</sup> Je semble en revenir ainsi à la restitution d'Homolle (*B.C.H.*, 1880, p. 188), reproduite par Dittenberger (*O.G.I.*, 343); mais l'état de la question était alors tout autre; on ignorait l'existence d'Evergète, on faisait régner Epiphane de 149 à 92 av. J.-C., et l'on ne connaissait qu'un Nicomède (Philopator) fils de Nicomède.

<sup>10</sup> C'est celle à laquelle s'arrêtent, pour d'autres raisons, Pritchett et Meritt, *l.l.*, p. 110.

<sup>11</sup> Il est moins affirmatif toutefois ("The lettering shows rather . . .") que Pritchett et Meritt (*l.l.*, p. 109) ne le laisseraient croire: "the inscription . . . which Dow has shown to belong, because of its lettering, to the period just after the creation of the tribe Attalis."



## THE PERSIANS AT DELPHI

(PLATE XI)

THE LIBRARY of the Royal Society in London has as its MS No. 73 the unpublished diary of Francis Vernon, containing notes made during his trip through the Middle East in 1675 and 1676. It bears in the catalogue the title: "Francis Vernon, Rough Journals of his travels through Greece, with numerous copies of old inscriptions, plans, etc." The existence of these notes has been known for some time, for Anthony à Wood reported them in the second volume of *Athenae Oxonienses* in 1692, though he expressed no high opinion of them, calling them "observations made in his [Vernon's] travels not fit to be published, because imperfect and indigested."<sup>1</sup> Later, Thomas Birch wrote in the *History of the Royal Society of London*, III (1757), pp. 357-358: "Mr. Vernon's journal of his travels is extant among the papers of the Royal Society, being found among those of Dr. Hooke, as appears from a letter of Dr. Richard Mead to the Revd. Mr. Edmund Chishull (dated Crutched Fryars, July 15, 1709). This journal, which contains only short and imperfect notes but a great number of inscriptions, begins at Spalatro, July 8, 1675, and ends at Ispahan, September 14, 1676." The letter to which reference is here made is at present bound with the journal and reads as follows:

Sir:

Mr. Waller, Secretary to the Royal Society, found these papers among Dr. Hooke's collections; they are supposed to be Mr. Vernon's Journal when he travelled in Turkey, and as they contain several Inscriptions (among many trifles) he thinks it may be some satisfaction to you to see 'em; Having delivered 'em into my hands for this purpose, I gladly take the opportunity of professing myself

Your most humble Servt.

R. Mead

Crutched-fryars  
July 15, 1709

The inscriptions were known to John Taylor who made use of one of them in his famous edition of Demosthenes, and this publication was taken over by Boeckh in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* as part of his evidence for the text of No. 1080.<sup>2</sup> Taylor (*op. cit.*, p. 359) reported the text as being "Ex schedis anecdotis Vernonii" and added the further comment "Num haec inscriptio ab aliis edatur necne, nescio sane, neque vacat consulere. . . ." Since his time I find no record that anyone has studied the epigraphical texts as copied by Vernon, though they amount in all to some twenty-nine pages. Also among the many trifles of Vernon's notes are interesting

<sup>1</sup> The severity of Wood's judgments about other people and their works was notorious. This quotation is taken from the edition of his book prepared in 1817 by Philip Bliss, Vol. III, p. 1133.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription is now published as *I.G.*, VII, 94-95 = Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 909.

and at times instructive comments on the buildings of Athens, those on the Parthenon being particularly valuable because he visited the Acropolis some years before the bombardment by Morosini. I do not plan here to discuss these notes, nor, indeed, to study the greater part of the epigraphical record. These tasks must be left until a later date, but one of the inscriptions which Vernon saw at Delphi is of more than usual interest. I have consequently excerpted the few documents that Vernon saw in or near Castri and present them briefly here.<sup>3</sup>

Vernon arrived in Castri at 5 o'clock in the afternoon of September 26, 1675, and departed at the same hour on the following day, proceeding by way of Hosios Loukas to Lebadea, where he arrived on September 28. The pages of the diary which carry the Delphic inscriptions are the recto and verso of folio 19 and are here reproduced in facsimile in Plate XI.<sup>4</sup>

The first Delphic text has been published as *C.I.G.*, 1723, and is now re-edited by Georges Daux in the current number of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.<sup>5</sup> Vernon seems erroneously to have indicated the text as parts of two inscriptions. This inscription was also copied in its entirety by George Wheler in January of 1676.<sup>6</sup>

The next inscription was copied by the fountain, which can only mean the Castalian Spring. It is the epigraphical record of the epigram written to commemorate the Greek victory when the Persians were thrown back from Delphi in 480 B.C. The text has been preserved in the literary tradition by Diodoros (XI, 14) and reads as follows:

μνᾶμα τ' ἀλεξάνδρου πολέμου καὶ μάρτυρα νίκας  
 Δελφοί μ' ἔστασαν Ζανὶ χαρίζομενοι,  
 σὺν Φοίβῳ πτολίπορθον ἀπώσάμενοι στίχα Μήδων  
 καὶ χαλκοστέφανον ῥυσάμενοι τέμενος.<sup>7</sup>

Actually the inscription, as cut on stone, occupied five lines instead of the conventional four, a disposition which is attested as correct so far as the division of lines is concerned by the spacing of the lacunae at the left and in the center. It appears that the mark like a poorly shaped upsilon, in the middle of the first line of the copy, is Vernon's way of representing a break at that point. Below it and slightly to the right some of

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to the Council of the Royal Society for giving me permission to publish this manuscript, and I wish to express my warm thanks particularly to Mr. Davies and to Mr. Robinson for their many courtesies during my visits to London.

<sup>4</sup> The date at the top of the recto (September 25) does not agree with the detailed account in the diary.

<sup>5</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 121-122, § 33.

<sup>6</sup> British Museum Add. MS. 35334, no. 166; for the manuscript record of Wheler's inscriptions, see *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 43 and note 100.

<sup>7</sup> I follow Preger's punctuation in *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae* (Leipzig, 1891), no. 86, with commentary.

the letters of the word Δε[λφο]ί were also lost. It is not clear how much is missing from line 1. I judge from the fact that line 1 does not extend farther to the right that the final O does duty for the diphthong OY. There is no evidence otherwise that the stone was broken at the right. I assume, therefore, that the only letter lost by the break in the middle of the line was the letter Π of the word [π]ολέμο. The text is given also by Hiller, *Historische Griechische Epigramme* (Bonn, 1926), no. 23. He brackets the last two lines in the traditional arrangement, regarding them as a later accretion. In this he has followed Frickenhaus, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 240 note, and von Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (Berlin, 1922), p. 79, and *Hellenistische Dichtung*, I (Berlin, 1924), p. 128; but the epigraphical record now makes certain that whatever the date of the epigram it must all be considered as one piece and that the last two lines have the same date as the first two. It is difficult to tell from Vernon's copy what this date may have been, but the use of conventional lettering and the probable use of O for the diphthong OY suggest a date about 400 B.C., possibly later. This lends great plausibility to the hypothesis advanced by Wieseler and Pomtow that the epigram belongs to the period after Herodotos, who does not mention it, and before Ephoros, who presumably did record it and from whom Diodoros got his copy.<sup>8</sup> Vernon's text may be transcribed as follows:<sup>9</sup>

[μνᾶμα τ'] ἀλ[εξ]άνδρο [π]ολέμο  
 [καὶ μάρτ]υρα νίκας Δε[λφο]ί μ' ἔστασαν  
 [Ζανὶ χ]αριζόμενοι, σὺν Φοίβῳ  
 [πτολ]ίπορθον ἀπωσάμενοι στίχα Μήδων  
 5 [καὶ χ]αλκοστέφανον ῥυσάμενοι τέμενος.

Vernon saw and copied the inscription not far from the spot where Diodoros reports that the trophy was erected: οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείας ἀθάνατον ὑπόμνημα καταλιπεῖν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις βουλόμενοι τρόπαιον ἔστησαν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ τόδε τὸ ἐλεγείον ἐνέγραψαν. But I see no reason to believe that the basis mentioned by Keramopoulos<sup>10</sup> and by Demangel<sup>11</sup> needs to be connected with this inscription.

This important text was also copied by George Wheler in 1676,<sup>12</sup> but his copy is less careful than that of Vernon. He uses lunate epsilons and sigmas, except in ἔστασαν of line 2 where he has the correct angular forms; his erroneous ΠΟΛΙΜΟΥΝ

<sup>8</sup> See Bergk, *Anthologia*, Vol. III<sup>4</sup>, p. 516, and Preger, *op. cit.* I am indebted to Paul Friedlaender for helpful criticism.

<sup>9</sup> It will be observed that the epigraphical record confirms the textual tradition of Diodoros and renders obsolete various attempts at emendation.

<sup>10</sup> Ὁδηγὸς τῶν Δελφῶν (Athens, 1908), p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 3 (texte), La Sanctuaire d' Athèna Pronaia, pp. 86-88, with references.

<sup>12</sup> British Museum Add. MS. 35334, no. 169; cf. note 6, above.



in line 1 shows the true shape of the epsilon, and zeta in line 3 is misread as tau. He saw the inscription at Castri "prope fontem." His disposition of the text agrees with that of Vernon, but the readings are generally inferior.<sup>13</sup>

Vernon next copied a fragmentary inscription on the wall and then "on great stone earth removed" he recorded what he saw of the archaic inscription of the Labyadai.<sup>14</sup> I have no comment to make on the other texts shown on the recto of folio 19.

The first inscription on the verso reads as follows:

— — — — —		ωκαν ἀτέλ
Ἀναξάνδρ		ειαν ἀσυνλ
ον Φαρσαλ		ίαν προδι
ίωι προξέ	10	κίαν προε
5 νωι ἐόντι		δρίαν προ
Δελφοὶ ἔδ		μαντήιαν.

In a preliminary search I have not found that it has been published, and the general lack of complete indexes for the Delphic material tempts me to refer to the statement about previous publication quoted above from John Taylor.

There follows a dedication to Apollo, and then part of an Imperial Letter. This fragment has been discovered and now bears the Inventory No. 1708. It was published by E. Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis* (Montepessulano, 1905), p. 78, and is to be seen in *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, La Terrasse du Temple (Courby), p. 33, Fig. 31.<sup>15</sup>

The final inscription from Delphi is a dedication to the emperors Valentinian and Valens, and so should be dated between 364 and 375 (possibly 367) A.D. It is of interest in that it preserves the Julian name for these two brother emperors:

τοὺς δεσπότας ἡμῶν  
 Φλ. Ἰούλ. Βαλλεντινιανὸν  
 καὶ Φλ. Ἰούλ. Βάλητα ἢ πόλις  
 Δελφῶν τοὺς ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέ  
 5 τας ἀνέστησεν.

Inasmuch as the text of *I.G.*, VII, 2495 from Thebes appears also on the verso of folio 19, it may be well to note that Vernon saw the stone before it had been damaged at the left and that his reading of line 6 confirms that of Pittakys (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 2798) who has frequently been unjustly maligned by later editors for the supposed unreliability of his readings. Vernon did not understand the letters of line 6, but

<sup>13</sup> Line 1 αἰεανδρου πολιμουν; Line 2 ουρα νικας Δε — — — μ εστασαν; Line 3 αριστομενοι συν φοβωι; Line 4 υπορον απωσαμενοι στικα Μηδο; Line 5 καλκοστεφανον ρυσταμενου τεμενο.

<sup>14</sup> Carl D. Buck, *Greek Dialects*<sup>2</sup> (Boston, 1928), no. 49.

<sup>15</sup> I owe these references to the kindness of Daux.

there can be no doubt of the interpretation. Whether Clarke or Vernon was correct in the spelling of the emperor's name must remain uncertain and the same is true of the name of the dedicator. For Vernon's text I suggest the following version:

[Δ]ομετιανὸν Καίσαρα Αὐτο[κράτ]  
 ορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Οὐ  
 εσπασιανοῦ υἱόν  
 Ἀριστείδης σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις  
 5 Μάρκῳ καὶ Ἀριστ<ε>ῖ[δη ἐ]κ τῶν  
 [ῖ]δί<ω>ν.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

# INSCRIPTIONS ON THE SOUTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS

(PLATE XII)

WHILE attending the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1932, we examined the inscriptions on the South Slope of the Acropolis. In so doing we found some 25 inscriptions which were then unpublished, and we were able to make improvements in several texts already published. Those inscriptions and texts which fell within the scope of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, ii, 2 (Berlin, 1935) were submitted to Kirchner for inclusion in that fascicule.<sup>1</sup> In 1935 Miss Winifred Ruter (now Mrs. Gottfried Merkel), then a student at the American School, generously checked a large number of details, and sent us several pages of useful notes; but she is not to be blamed for whatever errors remain. After delays, we now present the texts which are as yet unpublished, together with a map locating all of the inscriptions which we were able to discover on the South Slope.<sup>2</sup>

## INSCRIPTIONS HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED

1 (Plate XII). Thiasotai. No. 49 on the map Fig. 1. Fragment of cylindrical column of Pentelic marble. Original diameter about 0.44 m. Maximum height now 0.22 m. Inscribed surface at its widest *ca.* 0.20 m. On the opposite side of the column from the inscribed surface is another area of preserved original surface, just behind the broken edge that is visible on the left of the photograph; this other preserved area is uninscribed. The letters average *ca.* 0.008 m. in height. The most distinctive among them is + for phi, a form which occurs as early as the middle of the fourth century and sporadically down into the early second century B.C. The stone is broken at the top but the preserved surface flairs outward slightly. Probably no line is lost.

*ca.* 250 B.C.

Non Stoich.

	[τὸ ἄγαλμα? Ἐπι]κράτη[ς ἀνέθηκεν ὑπὲρ]	
	[τῶν θια]σωτῶν τῶν μ[εθ' αὐτοῦ Διὶ καὶ]	
	[Ἀθην?]αὶ ὅ ἐπ' Ἀντιμάχου ἄρχοντος]	
	[Ἐπι?]γένης Ἀγάθων	[-----]
5	[.]⸥λιος Φίλω[ν]	[-----]
	[Κ]ράτης 10 Ἐρμῶ[ν] 15 [-----]	
	Ἀγάθων Ἀγαθοκλ[ῆς]	[-----]
	Ἐπικρά[της]	

Beneath line 12 the surface is preserved, and is blank, for 0.09 m., below which point it is broken away.

For the restoration of lines 1-3 we are indebted to Professor W. S. Ferguson. He points out that the various elements accord with each other. Thus it was normal that a *θίασος* (here

<sup>1</sup> Viz., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4442 (of which fragment *d* = 4498), 5022-5079, 5083-5164; also *op. cit.*, Addenda, pp. 349-353, nos. 3167, 3250, 3382a, 3390, 3700, 4371a (= 4428), 4521a.—In Kirchner's *comparatio numerorum*, *op. cit.*, p. 362, the new number for *I.G.*, III, 836b should be 3995, not 3945.

We also rediscovered *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1727, a list of *archontes* which we handed over to S. Dow for the study which he published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 146-149.

<sup>2</sup> The study was suggested by O. Broneer. We must thank H. A. Thompson for the photograph of No. 2. S. Dow has given us constant help in the preparation of this report, and the final manuscript has been subjected to—and has profited by—his critical revisions.



one of the constituent units of a *φρατρία*)<sup>3</sup> should have no presiding officer, but should be designated as *οἱ μετὰ τοῦ δέινος*; that their dedication should be made to Zeus (Phratrion) and Athena (Phratria);<sup>4</sup> that their total number should be small (13); and that several should be related to each other (as suggested by the names).

The preserved part of line 1 is crowded, and we have restored a suitable number of letters at the begining. The precise word *ἄγαλμα* may be wrong; we do not know precisely what votive the base supported. It should be noted also that the stone needs to be re-examined for the reading of the first preserved letter, which on the photograph resembles tau.

In line 3 there occurs the name of an Athenian archon. An Antimachos was archon eponymous

in 257/6<sup>5</sup> or, as more recently dated, in 251/0 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Since the lettering supports a date in this period, we have not hesitated to make the identification, although *ἐπ' Ἀντιμάχο[ν ἱερέως]* is also conceivable, instead of the more usual order *ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀ.*

In Column I (lines 4-7) it is notable that the spacing is such as to make the final letters fall in an even vertical row. The same peculiar striving seems to account for the spacing in Column II (lines 8-12), and we have made restorations accordingly. There is, so far as we know, no precisely similar instance in Attic epigraphy. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2981 A and 3130 have the three combined elements name-patronymic-demotic inscribed so as to end even with each other, and it is this arrangement which should have been expected here *if* patronymics and demotics had been present.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> On thiasoi and phratries, see W. S. Ferguson, *Class. Philol.*, V, 1910, pp. 257-284, especially 270; H. T. Wade-Gery, *Class. Quart.*, XXV, 1931, pp. 129-143.

<sup>4</sup> It seems unlikely, despite the tempting parallel in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2941, another round dedicatory base of the very same period, that in line 3 we should restore *[ταμί]αι*. The remainder of the line would then be awkwardly placed; moreover four tamiai seem excessive.

<sup>5</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Ath. Trib. Cyc.*, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *Chron. Hellen. Ath.*, p. xxi.

<sup>7</sup> Formerly we interpreted the second column as patronymics (except for Epikrates). We noted two prosopographical items: a *Φίλων Φιλαίου Ξυπεταίων* (*P.A.*, 14859) is known from a funerary monument of the third or second century B.C., and a *[Φίλ]αιος Φίλωνος Ξυπεταίων* (*P.A.*, 14858) was *sophronistes* of epheboi in 305/4. Further, an *Ἀγάθων Ἀγαθοκλέους* (*P.A.*, 84) is praised in a decree of *orgeones*—who however use the word *thiasotai* in inscribed crowns. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1316, the inscription in question, is of *med. s. III a.*, and is a decree of a society worshipping the Magna Mater: see the full discussion by W. S. Ferguson in *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXVII, 1944, pp. 137-140, also 107-115. The reading of line 5 in the present inscription, however, does not seem to give *Φίλαιος*; all the names are common; and moreover the Agathon of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1316 can still be identified with him of line 7 even though line 11 does not give the patronymic.

The designation *θίασος* was also the name given to a cult society quite independent of the phratries; and we may note that certain elements of the inscription lend themselves to this interpretation. Thus the absence, apparently, of demotics, accords also with this sense of the designation *thiasotai*, since they would not ordinarily be citizens (but the names are good Athenian names). The end of line 2 might still be restored with *μ[ετὰ]* and the name of the founder as president; but only *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1294 (now re-edited by Ferguson in *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXXVII, 1944, pp. 93-94), which is of *orgeones*, supports such a usage. Considering, then, deities in *M[-----]*, we note first that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1262 gives us, in *οἱ θιασῶται οἱ Τυνάρον*, a parallel for the restoration, if we wish, of a name in the singular. There appears to be no restoration of this type more probable than *M[ἡτρὸς Θεῶν]*. The cult of Melpomenos was evidently confined to the *technitai*. The Megaloi Theoi are first known to have been worshipped by Athenians (or residents of Athens) in the second century

2 (Plate XII). Boundary Stone. Small stele of Pentelic marble, broken obliquely so that the original width and thickness, but not the height, are preserved. No. 151 on the map Fig. 1; at the entrance to the Odeion of Herodes Attikos. Height, 0.133 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.065 m. Height of tallest letter (rho), 0.029 m.

ὄρο[ς]  
γυμν[ασίου]

The shape of the mu is more likely to be Hellenistic than Roman. Serifs are known from the very end of the fourth century B.C.<sup>8</sup> and later. By the middle of the second century B.C. they are usually more developed than here. Hence a date in the third century is most probable. If so, then the stone may pertain to the Ptolemaion or the Diogeneion, built in the 220's, the only Athenian gymnasia known to have been built in, or at the end of, the third century.<sup>9</sup> But the possibilities must also be admitted that the stone pertains to some gymnasium built earlier, of which the boundary stones were not set up until the third century, or were renewed in the third century. The present inscription is the first boundary-stone of a gymnasium found in Athens.

3 (Plate XII). Statue base. Block of Hymettian marble, no. 10 on the map Fig. 1; near the stage buildings of the Theatre of Dionysos. The block is broken on the right. Height,

0.24 m.; present width, 1.00 m.; thickness, 0.37 m. The rough bottom is preserved; the smooth top has been worn down by being used as a threshold. The letters average *ca.* 0.04 m. in height. The alpha begins 0.56 m. from the left end.

*vacat* Ἀντίο[---]

The lettering, with its as yet undeveloped serifs, is not unlike that of No. 2, and the date should fall in the period before 150 B.C. It is uncertain whether the inscription concerns the phyle Antiochis<sup>10</sup> or an individual whose name begins with Ἀντίο.

4. Headless herm of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom. No. 23 on the map Fig. 1. The side to the left of the inscription was at some period worked down to form a raised cross about at its middle. The other side still has its original smooth surface, and the back is rough. The preserved indications show that the inscription was unusually low, near the original bottom of the stone. What remains of the inscription is just above the break. Height of what remains, *ca.* 0.84 m.; width, 0.205 m.; thickness, 0.15 m. The taller letters are *ca.* 0.014 m. high, but there is much variation.

Δούκιον· Βένιον  
[Ἐ]λευσίγιον· Σφῆτ(τιον)  
--- Α·ΓΛ ---

B.C., and then only in Delos. The Mousai were worshipped by the philosophical schools (cf. Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, pp. 263 ff.), but the members are not positively known to have been called *thiasotai*.

The main objection to this conception of the inscription is the very solidity of the other view, viz. that adopted *supra*. Another objection is line 12, where we read Ἐπικρά[της], but it *might* contain an official, in which case it should be the priest: ἐπὶ Κρα[--- ἱερέως]. We have preferred the name Epikrates alone, on the supposition that the priest would usually be entered more prominently and symmetrically.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the reforms of Demetrios of Phaleron, whose laws contained provisions about boundary stones: *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 159-165.

<sup>9</sup> There were many gymnasia in Athens: list in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, VII, col. 2606. For the Ptolemaion and Diogeneion, W. Judeich, *Topographie*, ed. 2 (1931), pp. 92, 352, 379; their historical setting and importance, W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 238-239. As an illustration of how a stone of this size could stray far from its original place, cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 71.

<sup>10</sup> For dedications by phylae see Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 236, and the literature there cited.

Line 1. The name Bennius is of common occurrence in Latin inscriptions (*Thesaur. Ling. Lat.*, II, p. 1907), and among Latin names in Greek inscriptions a few parallels are available. *C.I.G.*, III, 4716d<sup>9</sup> (among the addenda) has Γάιος Βένιος Κέλερ (Egypt); III, 4528b, Βένιον τοῦ καὶ Πονπλίου (Northern Syria); III, 4593, Βένιος Ἀγρίππου (Palestine). This inscription, however, affords the only case of the name in Greece. It is not originally a Latin name. Festus tells us that *benna* is Gallic. But the word is common in Romance languages generally (cf. Meyer-Luebke, *s.v.*) and is attested also for a Thracian city and an Ephesian phyle by Stephanus of Byzantium (Thrace is indicated by the context as the provenance in *C.I.G.*, III, 4528b).

Line 2. A deceptive erratic line runs along the tops of the letters; and cuts into some of them, till at the end it forms the cross-bar of the eta.

The name Eleusinius is common as a praenomen or nomen in Roman times, though its use as a cognomen seems to be restricted to only two other examples besides ours in Attic inscriptions (*I.G.*, III, 1171; 1160).

The deme name seems to have been abbreviated. The break in the stone makes further letters conjectural and the (doubtful) tau comes directly beneath the final nu of the line above.

Line 3. There is space at the beginning of the line for two or three missing letters. The break in the stone before the alpha is so shaped as almost to require either Α, Δ, Λ (or possibly a very slanting Μ) as the letter just preceding alpha; otherwise some trace of a letter should be visible. The dot after the Α may designate the end of a word as in the two previous lines, or it may belong with what follows, forming part of a tau.

5. Fragment of a sepulchral shaft of Hymettian marble. Height *ca.* 0.22 m. Letters *ca.* 0.029 m. high, widely but not regularly spaced, of the fourth or third century B.C.

[Μ]ητρίς

σ μ

6. Fragment of a sepulchral shaft of Hymettian marble broken on all sides. At its highest point *ca.* 0.33 m. Letters *ca.* 0.04 m., but they vary.

--- Ρ \ ---

--- αντου | /

--- θυγάτηρ Θε ---

Κυδαθηναί[έως]

A random example for comparison is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5984.

7 (Plate XII). Christian funeral inscription scratched on a huge rectangular slab of Hymettian marble.

† ἐτελήθη ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ ἡ σα  
ἡ δούλη τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ Εὐφροσύνη δη  
Μηνὶ Δεκεβρίῳ ἡμέρα  
τετάρτη ἡνδεκτημόνος ξ  
ἔτ(ους) ς υ κ ξ

Cf. *C.I.G.*, IV, 9320 ff. for other inscriptions of this type. The significance of the letters after the anchor in the first line and after the lady's name in the second we don't know. The indiction being the seventh, what is to be seen between the ς and κ must be read υ in order to get a year that will correspond to the indiction. The year, then, is A.D. 918 (6427-5509).

8. Fragment of an honorary base of Pentelic marble with a series of mouldings. Height, 0.27 m.; length, 0.55 m.; thickness, 0.594 m. The right end is broken and has a later anathyrosis. The left end also is broken. The original back is preserved. The stone supported a bronze statue which stood with its right foot forward, left back. The letters are *ca.* 0.034 m. in height on the top line, *ca.* 0.03 m. on the second.

[ἡ ἐξ Ἀρε]ίου πάγον βουλὴ [καὶ]

[ἡ βουλὴ τ]ῶν Χ καὶ ὁ δῆμος

See under No. 9.

9. Upper part of a headless herm of Pentelic marble. Height, 0.43 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thick-



ness, 0.29 m. Letters 0.018 m. (?) high in the first line and 0.020 m. (?) in the second.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ  
δόγματι Ἄρε[ι]  
παγε[ιτῶν]

We have not attempted an exhaustive study of the possibilities of joining Nos. 8 and 9 to other fragments. It has been noted that numerous similar texts are not republished at all in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> (S. Dow, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 358).

**10.** Block of Pentelic marble. Height 0.34 m., length 0.76 m., thickness 0.17 m. Worked on either side to receive other blocks. Letters 0.075 m. high. Round cuttings above and below the middle of the inscription give evidence for the blocks' having been reused.

κατεσκεῖα[σ--]

**11** (Plate XII). A solid, box-like block of Pentelic marble. Height 0.335 m., length 0.475 m., thickness 0.47 m. Four faces are moulded. Of the other two sides, one is smooth; the other, bearing this inscription, is picked. Letters *ca.* 0.015 m. high and slightly apexed. To the right there is probably room for 3 letters, as the stone now is.

τ. α. μ. ν. α. σ. α. θ.

**12.** Small fragment of white marble with the remains of a series of mouldings. The right end of the mouldings is partly preserved, although the letters, which are inscribed on the convex part of a cyma, are not intact to the very end. Letters *ca.* 0.025 m.

[Ἀ]ξηνε[ύς?]

**13.** Fragment of an Ionic epistyle block of Pentelic marble. Height 0.49 m., length 0.17 m., thickness *ca.* 0.34 m. Working on the right end to fit against another block. Letters 0.05 m.

ΜΙΣΤ

**14.** Fragment of an epistyle of Hymettian marble. Height 0.27 m., length 1.24 m., thick-

ness 0.42 m. Broken on the left and worked to fit another block on the right. There is a round cutting on the top, 0.035 m. in depth and 0.10 m. in diameter. Letters *ca.* 0.16 m.

ΙΩΝ

**15.** Fragment of Pentelic marble, from what seems once to have been a large base. The preserved piece is a narrow section cut out for some other purpose. Height 0.40 m., width 0.09 m., thickness 0.70 m. The letters vary from 0.01 m. to 0.015 m.

[ἐπὶ ἄρχ]οντος Π ---  
[-- στρατη]γοῦντ[ος --]  
[----]ράτου[----]  
[-- πρυταν]είας τε[μύσαντες]

A prytany catalogue. For a close parallel see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1825; cf. II<sup>2</sup>, 1803 and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 13.

**16.** Large and almost cubic block of poros with a rectangular cutting on the side that lies above the inscribed surface. Height 0.49 m., length 0.51 m., thickness 0.48 m. Letters *ca.* 0.07 m., but they vary somewhat.

ΙΕΡΓ

The inscription itself and the material suggest a reused theatre seat, but the dimensions of the block seem unsuitable, the height being too great.

**17.** Fragment of a slab of white marble, intact at its left edge but very much chipped on the written surface near that edge. Stoichedon except for the first line. Letters *ca.* 0.004 m. high. End of the fourth or beginning of the third century B.C.

ων τω. θεω  
παιδων α  
ατ. φ. ασδ  
ινπα  
πην  
νκα  
ρων  
ρα  
η

18. Fragment of flat slab of Pentelic marble, intact on the left. Letters *ca.* 0.027 m.

⊥  
ἐπὶ ἐρε[ωσ]

19. One of two fragments (now set up together) of an Ionic epistyle block. The dentils have been set right side up; the inscription is on the reverse side and upside down. The left end is unbroken. Letters *ca.* 0.04 m. high.

Ε  
ΕΤΕ  
Π

20 (Plate XII). Block of white marble. Height 0.215 m., length 0.27 m., thickness 0.46 m. It is broken on the left and worked to join another stone on the right. The letters vary from 0.014 m. in the first line to *ca.* 0.038 m. in the third.

---ον *vacat*  
---εν  
||||| ρηο

## II. NOTES ON INSCRIPTIONS ALREADY PUBLISHED

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1987 (Plate XII). A bit to the east of the Thrasylos cavern and somewhat higher than it in level is an even floor of rock. Along the northern extremity of this floor the rock rises perpendicularly, forming a wall, towards the level of the well-known Roman columns above. This wall is inscribed with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3167. More difficult to find is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1987. It is cut into rock which is located just west of the floor above described, at about the same altitude as that floor. The letters were cut by a professional mason, very likely the first of the group, Zotikos. The first four lines of the list have been read correctly by Koehler and von Velsen, except that the final iota of line 1 and the initial epsilon of line 4 are visible on the rock. Koehler does not give a fifth line. Bursian and von Velsen do, but disagree on the reading. In truth, there is even a sixth line. At the beginning of line 5 stands AT. Read, therefore, Ἀττικός. Line 6 reads certainly: ΕΠΙΚΤΑΣ. The complete text is as follows:

οἱ φίλοι  
Ζωτικός  
Ἔρως  
Εὐκαρπος  
5 Ἀττικός  
Ἐπίκτας

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3056. The choregic monument of Thrasylos has been elaborately studied by G.

Welter in *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 33-68; the inscription, not specially studied, is drawn in cols. 55-56. We read Νέα[ιχμ]ος ἤρχεν; Welter's drawing lacks the omicron, which however is clear in his photograph. Then Καρ[κίδαμος Σ]ώτι[ο]ς ἐξέδασκ[εν] (Welter's drawing lacks the letters after KAP). It is notable, though not shown in print, that the words Νέαιχμος ἤρχεν are cut 0.04 m. below line 2, but 0.015 m. above the level of the other words in line 3.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3083 B (= *I.G.*, II, 1293). Choregic base of Thrasykles. Of the three fragments seen by Koehler we could find only *a*. But we saw a fragment not recorded by him. It reads:

[--- ἐχ]ορήγει Π[υθάρματος ---]  
[---] Θρασυκλ[ῆς] -----

This same fragment was used by Welter, *op. cit.*, cols. 63-64, but he lacks the letters in the second line. Some slight adjustment is needed in his drawing.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3250 and Addenda, *ibid.*, p. 349. Cyriac of Ancona read an inscription which, without having been seen in the interim, was edited by Boeckh (*C.I.G.*, 311), Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, 444), and Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3250). The text thus transmitted is as follows:

ὁ δῆμος  
Γάιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν νέον Ἀρη

A stone now in the orchestra of the Theatre of Dionysos bears the following text, and is presumably identical with the inscription seen by Cyriac:

ὁ δῆμος  
Γάϊον Καίσαρα Σεβα[στοῦ]  
υἱὸν νέον \*Αρη

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3283. We do not see how the restoration suggested for the beginning of line 1 could be squeezed into less than 0.30 m. The actual space is but 0.20 m. Perhaps this stone was inscribed rather in the *archonship* of Diokles (cf. Graindor, *B.C.H.*, 1927, pp. 301-2).

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3390 and *Addenda*, p. 350. Of the reading made by Chandler for the beginning of the last line we saw only the stroke which immediately precedes ἀνέστησαντα. There is room for as many as 8 or even 9 letters before that. At the end of the line it is hard to see how more than 4 letters could fit after αὐτο[ῦ]. The last letters of lines 1 and 3 as read by Ross can still be seen.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3700 and *Addenda*, p. 351. We saw ΨΩ but nothing clear above it.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4073. At the end of line 13 we saw τιο, greatly compressed for lack of space.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4279. Koehler, unable to find this stone, suggested that Pervanoglu's reading Σόστρατος might possibly be explained by supposing that there was an ω of the form Ω on the stone. At present the first three letters are not visible; and it is possible that Pervanoglu too was faced with the necessity of supplying these letters and that he made a slip.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4383. This inscription has been marred but not made illegible by a number of vertical lines which have apices at their ends. Perhaps the name Demetrius explains this. Antigonal inscriptions were defaced by an order of the people in 200 B.C. (Johnson, *A.J.P.*, XXXIV, 1913, p. 388 and Dinsmoor, *Archons*,

p. 507). The letters seemed to us to be of the late fourth or early third century. If it is an Antigonal inscription, the Demetrius would then be Poliorcetes. Another possibility: Was this dedication taken for Antigonal without sufficient warrant? A name without patronymic is quite common on inscriptions of this kind.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4428 (= 4371a). The note to 4371a suggests that this priest may be the same man as the one in 4371. The latter stone we did not succeed in finding. But the arrangement of the inscription on it, as recorded by those who did see it, does not encourage the name of Archippos as a restoration.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4442. The fifth inscription on this stone was scratched in rather thin, irregular letters: Ἀπολλωνι. This may be complete in itself or *ος* may be lost at the end.

In the Menander inscription, since there were blocks on either side of that which remains, the *ου* of θεοῦ ought to be restored in the first line, not the second (cf. the illustration of this inscription in *A.J.A.*, XI, 1907, p. 313).

Ἀθήναιον, V, 1876, p. 320. No. 86 on our map (just in front of the stoa in the Asklepieion) is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3176. The first dimension is incorrectly copied *ibid.*: it should read "a. 0.68," not 0.16. The remains of a second inscription in huge letters on the present bottom of the stone, incompletely read by D. Philios, Ἀθήναιον, V, 1876, p. 320, are entirely omitted from *I.G.*, III, and from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>. Originally this inscription on the "bottom" consisted of three lines of large letters. Except for margins, the lines ran from one end of the block to the other. At present the original surface is preserved only at the ends, the middle having been hacked out for some purpose not directly related to the inscription, i. e., it was not an erasure.

Height of letters: in the first line, 0.081 m.; in the other two lines, 0.064 m. The letters vary in width. Thus the extreme width of the alpha (first letter) is 0.105 m.; of the epsilon (second letter), 0.070 m. In the following text,



the numbers of missing letters, computed on the basis of average widths, are quite approximate:

A(ῥλος) E[-----<sup>ca. 12½</sup>-----]ξ καὶ  
 Μητρ[-----<sup>ca. 20½</sup>-----]νιος  
 καὶ Π[-----<sup>ca. 20½</sup>-----]κηρος

The style of the lettering may make it earlier than the other inscription on the same block, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3176. The data given for the present text are compatible with the assumption that the three lines contained merely three names with patronymics and demotics, the three being connected by καί. In that case the present block should have been one of a series. It is to be noted, however, that connectives are unusual in a series of names, and that there is no Athenian demotic in -κηρος (or in -ηρος); possi-

bly these letters represent a Latin name in -cenus.

Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, 1915, p. 150, 6. There is a bit more on this sepulchral stone than τινος. We read:



Between the Α and the Τ probably four letters are lost. The flourish on the Α and the greater than ordinary space between it and the next letter suggest (as does also the ending τινος) that it is an abbreviation for Αῖλος.

*Harmonia*, I, p. 31. The reading of line 2, recorded as Α...ροικον, is in reality Ἀφροδισίου.

## NOTES TO MAP <sup>11</sup>

The lists *infra*, which are the key to the Map, show by omission which inscriptions, located on the South Slope by *I.G.*<sup>2</sup> or other publications, we could not find there. Of the inscriptions said in *I.G.*<sup>2</sup> to be lost, we saw *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3146, 4279, 4372, 4988. Numbers are assigned

on our Map to only a few of the inscriptions on the seats in the Theatre of Dionysos; the others are easily located by reference to the *Corpus*. An asterisk (\*) prefixed to the number of an inscription previously published indicates that we have dealt with it *supra*.

PUBLICATION	MAP NUMBER
New Inscriptions ( <i>supra</i> , pp. 63-68)	
1 .....	49
2 .....	151

PUBLICATION	MAP NUMBER
3 .....	10
4 .....	23 <sup>12</sup>
5 .....	144

<sup>11</sup> For a similar study, with a map, of the inscriptions on the Akropolis itself, see Bruna Tamaro, *Annuario d. R. Scuola arch. d. Atene*, IV/V, 1921-1922, pp. 55-67, 69-70; and cf. S. Dow, *Am. Journ. Philol.*, LIX, 1938, p. 358 and notes 4 and 5.

It was not part of our plan to examine the marble dump on the South Slope. This task was performed in July 1935 by J. H. Oliver. All of the group of inscriptions found there by him were removed to the Epigraphical Museum, and hence do not figure in the present study. Evidently all had been brought down from the Akropolis when the dump was formed—i. e. in modern times. One was published in *Trans. Am. Philol. Ass'n.*, LXVI, 1935, pp. 177-198. Four others were published in *Am. Journ. Archaeol.*, XL, 1936, pp. 460-465; Professor Oliver kindly informs us that his *ibid.*, no. 2 (= E.M., 12821, the decree of the Second Athenian Confederacy) has recently been re-published by Silvio Accame in *La lega ateniese del secolo IV a. C.* (Angelo Signorelli, Rome, 1941), pp. 229-244.

<sup>12</sup> In 1935 Mrs. Merkel was unable to locate this inscription.

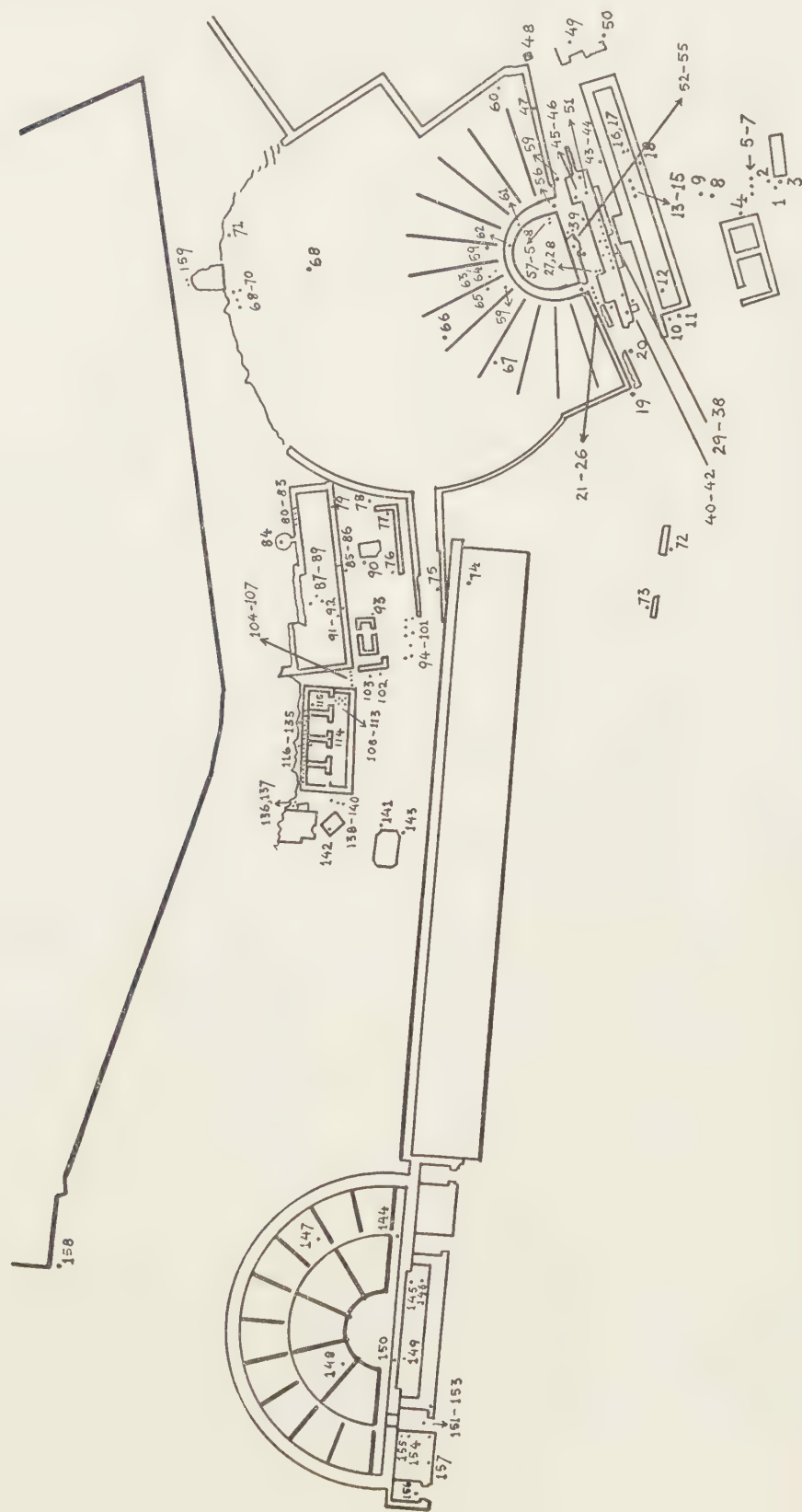


Fig. 1. Inscriptions on South Slope of Acropolis

PUBLICATION	MAP NUMBER	PUBLICATION	MAP NUMBER
6 .....	83	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> —(continued)	
7 .....	158	3146 .....	30
8 .....	38	3161 .....	55
9 .....	109	3167 (also <i>Addenda</i> , p. 349) ....	71 <sup>14</sup>
10 .....	117	3168 .....	159
11 .....	75	3176 .....	86
12 .....	81	3181 .....	103
13 .....	78	3182 .....	39
14 .....	93	3189 (also <i>Addenda</i> , p. 349) ....	94
15 .....	157	* 3250 (also <i>Addenda</i> , p. 349) ....	61
16 .....	72	* 3283 .....	91
17 .....	146	3286 .....	63
18 .....	154	3287 .....	59
19 .....	18	3298 .....	7
20 .....	88	* 3390 (also <i>Addenda</i> , p. 350) ....	50
<i>I.G.</i> , I <sup>2</sup>		3410 .....	67
861 .....	115	3427 .....	5
874 .....	143	3447 .....	74
879 .....	19	3522 .....	56
880 .....	101	3603 .....	66
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup>		3605 .....	33
1132 .....	4	3609 .....	6
1727 .....	1 <sup>13</sup>	3643 .....	21
1944 .....	116	3699 .....	92
* 1987 .....	71	* 3700 (also <i>Addenda</i> , p. 351) ....	65
2949 .....	9	3704 .....	79
3029 .....	17	3775 .....	26
3047 .....	62	3777 .....	29
3052 .....	28	3778 .....	20
* 3056 .....	68	3779 .....	42
3065 .....	13	3798 .....	113
3066 .....	14	3800 .....	32
3067 .....	15	3804 .....	131
3073 .....	47	3806 .....	108
3078 .....	73	3810 .....	85
3081 .....	77	3815 .....	112
3083 <i>A</i> .....	69	3831 .....	24
* 3083 <i>B</i> .....	70	3832 .....	22 <sup>15</sup>
3088 .....	48	3845 .....	51
3089 .....	31	3851 .....	46
3112 .....	27	3963 .....	100
3120 .....	99	3964 .....	122

<sup>13</sup> Subsequently this stone was removed and placed in the small guard's house at the entrance (see S. Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 146-149, for a new publication).

<sup>14</sup> For the location see *supra* under *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1987.

<sup>15</sup> In 1935 Mrs. Merkel was unable to locate this inscription.



PUBLICATION	MAP NUMBER	PUBLICATION	MAP NUMBER
<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> —(continued)		<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> —(continued)	
3995 .....	121	4988 .....	90
4026 .....	114	4994 .....	134
* 4073 .....	125	5013 .....	12
4127 .....	130	5021 .....	53
4215 .....	35	5080 .....	64
4257 .....	37	5082 .....	58
4264 .....	40	5214 .....	148 <sup>18</sup>
4267 .....	45	3382a .....	57
4268 .....	36	4519a .....	102
* 4279 .....	41	4521a .....	87
4286 .....	34	4942c .....	142
4289 .....	52	6012 .....	8
4302 .....	11	6915 .....	155
4352 .....	139	7628 .....	2
4362 .....	132	7736 .....	104
4363 .....	111	8015 .....	150
4364 .....	123	8233 .....	153
4372 .....	133	8295 .....	106
4377 .....	136	8313 .....	3
4380 .....	126	8488 .....	149
* 4383 .....	137	8937 .....	145
4403 .....	95	9307 .....	107
4404 .....	124	9441 .....	152
4411 .....	129	12531 .....	156
* 4428 (= 4371a) .....	140	13242 .....	71 <sup>19</sup>
4432 .....	120	13913 .....	89
4440 .....	135		
* 4442 (frag. <i>d.</i> = 4498) .....	80	<i>I.G.</i> , II	
4456 .....	76	2694 .....	105
4464 .....	82 <sup>16</sup>		
4485 .....	138 <sup>17</sup>	<i>I.G.</i> , III	
4491 .....	97	998a .....	110
4496 .....	118	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Grae-</i>	
4514 .....	98	<i>cum</i> , II, 19 .....	54
4756 .....	96	* Ἀθῆναιον, V, 1876, p. 320 .....	86
4978 .....	16	* Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, 1915, p. 150,	
4986 .....	127	6 .....	60
4987 .....	128	* <i>Harmonia</i> , I, p. 31 .....	119

<sup>16</sup> Of this we have found only two fragments: *σσα* and *απιωνοσκηφισ*  
*ηγκ* and *αιτηνεισοδο*

<sup>17</sup> On this and related inscriptions, see Winifred R. Merkel, *infra*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>18</sup> Inscribed on a seat of the Odeion of Herodes, in the seventh row of the second wedge from the western end.

<sup>19</sup> No. 71 covers three inscriptions. For their exact locations, see *supra*, p. 68.

PUBLICATION	MAP NUMBER	PUBLICATION	MAP NUMBER
<i>Parnassos</i> , 1882,		6, nos. 10, 11.....	43 <sup>20</sup>
p. 81, 1.....	84	pp. 60, 61 and plate 6, nos. 8, 9..	44 <sup>20</sup>
p. 81, 2.....	141	A. Wilhelm, <i>Beiträge zur griechi-</i>	
H. Bulle, <i>Untersuchungen an griechi-</i>		<i>schen Inschriftenkunde</i> , I (1909),	
<i>schen Theatern</i> , p. 61 and plate		p. 211, no. 187.....	25

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<sup>20</sup> Nos. 43 and 44 cover two inscriptions each. For their exact locations, see Bulle, *op. cit.*

## NOTES ON SOUTH-SLOPE INSCRIPTIONS

### ASKLEPIAN VOTIVES DATED BY DIOPHANES OF AZENE<sup>1</sup>

THE inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4485 is stated *ibid.* to be identical with an inscription in the Epigraphical Museum of which the inventory number is 9552. In 1932 Mitchell and Ethel Levensohn found on the South Slope an inscription which has the same text as that which is printed for *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4485. Checking readings in 1935 for them, I examined E. M. 9552, and was able to establish the fact that there are two inscriptions, of which the text originally was identical. The details are as follows.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4485 is the inscription rediscovered (and left) in the Asklepieion by the Levensohns, and entered as no. 138 on their map (*supra*, p. 71). It is a fairly large votive base: height, 0.90 m.; width, 0.40 m.; thickness, 0.47 m.; height of letters, uniformly 0.017 m. The text reads:

[ἐ]πὶ ἱερέως Διοφάν[υς]  
[τ]οῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀζ[ηνιέως]

This is the inscription published earlier by Pervanoglou in *Philologus*, XXIV, 1866, p. 463; and by Dittenberger, in *I.G.*, III, 229. Pervanoglou states, but his statement is not recorded in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4485, that it was found on the Akropolis, east of the Erechtheion, near *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4482, which is a third inscription bearing the same words, though in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4482 the words are all inscribed in one line. Since the sculpture on three stones of the present group makes the association with Asklepios indubitable, these stones must have been removed from the Asklepieion and carried up on the Akropolis for use as building blocks. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4485 was restored to the Asklepieion doubtless in recent times.

E. M. 9552 may well have been found in the Asklepieion (my notes are not positive on this detail). Its dimensions are: height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. The stone, much broken, is roughly triangular, with the apex below. The inscription is on the flat vertical face, above which is a moulding. The moulding projects *ca.* 0.01 m.; its front face is also broken. The letters average less than 0.015 m. in height. The text reads:

[ἐπ]ὶ ἱερέως Διοφάν[ους]  
[τοῦ] Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀζ[ηνιέως]

Since all other details are dissimilar, it must have been the similarity of the texts which alone led scholars to an unwarranted, unchecked statement of identification.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Professor Sterling Dow for help in preparing this article for publication.



The interest of the "new" inscription E. M. 9552 is that it increases to no less than five the number of marble dedications all bearing precisely the same words, identical letter for letter, so far as they are preserved, without even a clerical variant between any two of them.<sup>2</sup> This is sufficiently unusual to merit attention. All five dedications were evidently of sculpture; three at least were reliefs. It might be interesting to discover whether the lettering (as suggested by the shapes given in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>) and sculpture of some were by the same hand.

For the priest Diophanes, son of Apollonios, of Azenia, see A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 59. There is, I believe, no reason as yet to alter the date 's. I p.'

### INSCRIPTIONS ON SEATS IN THE THEATRE OF DIONYSOS

A new edition of all the known inscriptions cut in the seats of the Theatre of Dionysos appeared in 1935.<sup>3</sup> In the years immediately preceding, new readings in these inscriptions were made by Mitchell and Ethel Levensohn, Werner Peek, Sterling Dow, and myself. The results were forwarded to Kirchner and most of them were incorporated in the new edition. Many of the readings are difficult and time-consuming; I was able to resume the study after the new edition appeared, and I submit herewith some additional readings and comments on readings. The Levensohns kindly put their own notes at my disposal.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5061. "The Rhusopulos version best represents the appearance of the inscription. We saw: ΡΩ ◡ Υ" (Levensohns).

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5067. "Of the two graffiti on this throne, the IEP is on the front of the back rest, the ΝΙΚΗC on the rear. The latter was discovered by Dr. O. Broneer" (Levensohns).

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5089. This inscription should be located as being in *ordo II*, not *III*, of the *cuneus alter sinister*. There are additional letters on the same block, above the line of the letters Φ[ιλή]μονος, but nearer the beginning of the block than the phi is. I read the letters as follows: ΑΡΙΕΤ[—]. Inasmuch as there is a deep round opening cut right through the block below this word, I think it likely that it is part of the Latin word *aries*; and that it was in-

scribed there—the lettering is small, careless, and runs uphill—to mark the place for the cutting of a hole for the insertion of a beam. The lower part of the P is gone, so that perhaps it was not a P but an R.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5100. The ΥC recorded by Peek after ὑμνητρίων is there. The remaining vestiges of letters, it seems to me, are not so hopelessly *incerta* as Peek implied. My reading, confirmed by a second inspection after the lapse of more than a year, is as follows:

[Ε]ρ[σ]ηφ[ό]ροις [β' Εὐ]βούλ[ης] Ν[ύ]μφης

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5101. The full text is given in *I.G.*<sup>2</sup> as follows:

Ὀλβίας ἱεράς  
καθ' ὑπομνημ[α]τισμὸν καὶ κατὰ  
ψήφισμα Ἰουλίας τῆς . . θ[.]μα . . κο[v] θυγ[ατρὸς]

<sup>2</sup> Text in one line: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4482, 4483, 4484; text in two lines: 4485 and E.M., 9552. A few letters are lost.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, part iii, fascicule i (Berlin), nos. 5021-5164. Some notion of the shapes of letters may be had from *I.G.*, III, 243-302.

The only uncertain part is the remainder of line 3 after  $\tau\eta\varsigma$ . In the *var. lect.*, Gelzer is credited with Ε[.]ΟΙ, which seems to make no sense; Ruter with .θ. .μα. .κο[υ]; and the Levensohns with [Γερ]μανικοῦ θυ[γατρὸς], with the trace of a printer's slug appearing by a slip before the first gamma. The Levensohns wrote, "We were far from certain of the text thus printed [as *supra*] with dots; at most we should have claimed, from the last two words, only ΜΑ ΚΟΙΘῆ," and asked me to examine the stone once again. After studying the stone again very closely, I was able to see faintly what may be iota before the kappa of the hypothetical Γερμανικοῦ. Before the mu is ρ, which may represent rho, although the space is proportionately rather large. What I took for theta may possibly represent a weathered epsilon, so that the only difficulty with the notion that the original inscription had Γερμανικοῦ θυγατρὸς is the form of the initial letter, F, which has more the shape of digamma. It seems best, therefore, to agree with the Levensohns that Γ[ερ]μα[υ]ικοῦ θυ[γατρὸς] is "a possibility but a mere possibility." For a priestess of Ἰουλίας ----- Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατρὸς (Julia Livilla), see *Inscr. Perg.*, 497.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5134. The theta is very dubious, and there is not room on that block for [θεῶν]. It should be pointed out, however, that there was plenty of room on the adjoining block.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5144. Above the name the Levensohns had read ΙΕΡΕΩΞ, in well-cut letters, approximately centred above the inscription. They asked me to make a close examination. I found ΙΕΡΕ, and noted that although these letters are of nearly the same height as the letters in Ἀντιόχου, they are not nearly so well nor so deeply cut; they may have been added later; on epigraphical grounds alone, they cannot be definitely associated with, or dissociated from, Ἀντιόχου. The other blocks in the same row, after Ἀντιόχου, are incomplete. In the remaining space, [Ἐπιφάνους] would be somewhat crowded. Certainly the seat, situated as it is in *ordo XVII*, can never have been intended for a monarch. The lettering would permit the association with Epiphanes but would not forbid a connection with Philopappos; there is no evidence, however, for a priesthood of either in Athens, though for Antiochos particularly a cult (at least) is likely. See also the references in the commentary in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>.

*Cuneus quintus dexter, ordo III*, last block: here the Levensohns read Διονύσ[ο]υ. Studying the whole row, I found that all along it there are faint traces of inscriptions in addition to Πασ[ειδῶνος] (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5157). These traces are so weathered and faint that I found I could read Διονύσου just as well in two or three other places along the row as well as on the last block.

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# THREE ATTIC PROXENY DECREES

(PLATE XIII)

1. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36 + E.M. 12411 (Plate XIII). The proxeny decree published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36 may be augmented by the addition of a small inscribed fragment now in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (E.M. 12411). Since we were able to study only the squeeze of this fragment we do not know its thickness nor do we know whether the stone is broken on all sides. It seems likely, however, that both the top and the left lateral face are preserved since there is an uninscribed space above the first line and since only one letter is missing at the beginning of this line. The fragment has been assigned to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36 on the basis of the lettering which is identical in size, in shape, and in spacing. It became clear, moreover, that the new fragment must join that part of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36 which had previously been published as *I.G.*, I, 27. Between the preserved letters of the third line of the new fragment (ἐγρ]αμμάτε[νε) and the first line of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36 ([<sup>ca.</sup>3]λεος εἶπε) there are missing only the two words ὁ δείνα ἐπεστάτε for which there is ample space at the end of the third line. The whole document may therefore be restored as follows.

ca. 447/6 B.C.

non-stoich. ca. 25

- [ἐ]δοχσεν τῷ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δέμ]  
 [οι] Διαντὶς ἐπ[ρυτάνενε· <sup>ca.</sup>5 ἐ]  
 [γρ]αμμάτε[νε· <sup>ca.</sup>6 ἐπεστάτε·]  
 [<sup>ca.</sup>3]λεος εἶπε· Κορ[ρα]γίδεν κ[αὶ ν]  
 5 Θαλνκίδεν καὶ Μ[ε]νίστρατον κ  
 αὶ Ἀθέναιον τὸς Θεσπιᾶς ἀναγρ  
 [ά]φσαι προχσένος καὶ εὐεργέτα  
 [ς Ἀ]θenaίον καὶ τὸς παῖδας τὸς  
 [ἐκένο]ν ἐμ πόλ[ε]ι ἐν στέλει λιθί  
 10 [νει· οἱ δὲ] πολετ[α]ὶ ἀπομισθοσά  
 [ντον τὸν στέλεν· τ]ὸ δὲ ἀργύριον  
 [ἀποδόντον οἱ κολακρ]εῖται· κ[αλ]  
 [έσαι δὲ - - - - -]

The restoration suggested here differs in some small details from the one published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36. There is a possibility that the first name in line 5 Θαλνκίδες actually began in line 4 since after κ[αί] there must have been still space for one or possibly two letters. We make this suggestion because this inscription was engraved with disregard for stoichedon arrangement and syllabic division, and because each line has apparently as many letters as the stone-cutter could possibly inscribe. It may be noted, moreover, that the name Θαλνκίδες seems to be unique, consisting as it does of the root Θα- and the patronymic -λνκίδες (from -λνκος). The suggestion may be made that the first part of the name contained in fact the root Αἰθα- or Αἰθαλ- which is known in the form Λύκαιθος (P.A., 9198). There certainly is space for the first two letters of this name at the end of line 4.

In lines 10 and 12 the rough breathing has been omitted in the restoration because the available space favored this disposition. In line 12 we have restored for the same reason the shorter form ἀποδόντον rather than the longer παρασχόντον.

The dating and the interpretation of the document remain unchanged by the addition of the new fragment. If the honors were granted to these four Thespians after the battle of Koroneia, this must have taken place very soon afterwards for the letter forms suggest a date within five years after the middle of the century.

One of the four Thespians, Athenaios, may have received his name as homage to the glorious deeds of the Athenians in which the Thespians participated at Plataiai. It may be noted in passing that H. Pope's suggestion (*Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions*, p. 49, note 29) to restore Ἀθένα[ιος ὁ Θεσπιεύς] in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30, line 2 should be rejected. This inscription does not deal with Boiotians, and it is



2. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30 + 23 (Plate XIII). A study of the squeezes of the inscriptions published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 23 and 30 suggested that these two fragments may belong to the same document. James H. Oliver kindly examined the originals in Athens and reported that *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30 in fact can be joined to the top of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 23. The

combined fragments are 0.505 m. high; their maximum thickness is 0.115 m., and their maximum width 0.17 m. They have only the left side preserved while the top of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30 does not seem to be original. The restoration suggested below assumes, however, that the first line of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30 was also the first line of the original document. The stele may have been crowned by a relief or by a simple moulding which is now broken off. The photograph of the fragments as joined was kindly supplied to us by Mrs. Oliver.

After line 5, stoich. 42

The prescript of the decree, lines 6-8, has been restored following a suggestion made by Meritt and reported by P. Haggard, *The Secretaries of the Athenian Boule in the Fifth Century B. C.*, p. 10, note 8. Although we have no evidence to present in favor of this restoration, it so happens that several lines of the

The restoration of the first sentence of the decree, of which only five letters are preserved in line 9, presents considerable difficulties. The last of these five letters, normally read as a rho, may equally well have been a beta, and it even

seems possible to detect on squeeze and photograph traces of the lower loop which would confirm this latter reading. Meritt recently observed (*Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 126, note 132) that matters of religious interest were often mentioned at the beginning of decrees, and he gave as an example the passage under discussion thus accepting the restoration τὰ ἱερ[ά]. We have hesitated to follow him because we think that the rough breathing would not have been omitted in this text except in the Ionic proper name Hikesios (line 5); compare line 24. We were unable, moreover, to find any example of the use of τὰ ἱερά at the beginning of a decree. The restoration suggested here is also unusual and should be considered as doubtful.

The widely spaced heading may have contained as many as 23 letters in each line. Since each line began with a new word, it seems likely that the lines did not entirely fill the available space and that they were not all of equal length. Line 3 apparently contained some form of the ethnic Παριανός, and we assume that the two names which followed in lines 4 and 5 belonged to citizens of Parion. All we know of the relationship between this city and Athens about the middle of the fifth century is that Parion was a member of the Delian League as early as 454/3; see *A.T.L.*, I, p. 368. Its tribute was considerably reduced at some time between 452 and 443, and it seems reasonable to assume that the reduction of the tribute was in some way connected with the events which occasioned our decree. At Tyrodiza, across the Straits from Parion, an Athenian colony was founded before the middle of the fifth century (*A.T.L.*, I, pp. 525 and 558), and Sigeion, on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, demonstrated her loyalty to Athens at this very time (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 362; *A.T.L.*, I, pp. 547-548; *J.H.S.*, LXIII, 1943, p. 28).

The remains of lines 14-15 seem to contain the publication formula. The reading [φσέ]-φισμα τ[όδε] is certain and should replace the older reading which is repeated in *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 62, lines 47-53.

In line 16 one can read with confidence -]χας κατὰ ἰσθ[-, but the meaning and the restoration

of these three words are difficult. The mention of Lesbos in line 20 suggested to us the possibility that the three letters at the end of line 16 may contain the name of the Lesbian city Issa the existence of which is attested by Stephanos, *s.v.* Ἴσση, πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ, κληθεῖσα Ἰμέρα, εἴτα Πελασγία καὶ Ἴσση ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰσσης τῆς Μάκαρος. We have restored the ethnic Ἰ[σσαίων] in line 21, but both restorations should be considered as doubtful. Equally uncertain is the restoration [τὸς ἀπάρ]χας in line 16. It is based on the occurrence of such officials in a late decree from Lesbos (*I.G.*, XII, Suppl. [1939], p. 13, line 5).

The two types of boat mentioned in lines 17 and 18 are well known and represent small ships; see *R.E.*, *s.vv.* Triakontoros and Pente-kontoros. It seems that such boats were not in common use in the well-equipped navies of the fifth century. They did constitute, however, a substantial part of the naval forces of smaller cities. We have restored τὲν τετρακόντερον because it fills the available space. There is little known of this type of boat, and its proper name in later times was τεσσαρακόντορος.

What remains of lines 22 and 23 seems to belong to the two words [π]ροσκαλ[εσθ]- and [ἡα]ι κλέσ[εσ] which can be combined to form a phrase common in Attic decrees of the fifth century; see E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 322-323, no. 3.

Line 25 seems to contain the beginning of a rider.

• The date suggested for *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 23, 450/49, may be retained. The occurrence of the three-stroke sigma does not allow a much later date. The sigma employed in this inscription is of a peculiar shape. The top stroke is considerably longer than the two other bars. The same type of letter occurs on four other Attic inscriptions, three of which are securely dated about the middle of the fifth century. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 34 shows this form of sigma but the inscription cannot be dated accurately. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 32 is now dated in the year 451/0; see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 360-362, no. 2. The treaty between Athens and Hermione (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 494-497, no. 12) is dated *ca.* 450 B.C. Most significant, however, is the occurrence of this type of sigma in the copy of the Athenian monetary

decree found on the island of Kos; see *Clara Rhodos*, IX, 1938, pp. 156, fig. 1, and 173. This decree should be dated in 449 B.C.; see *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, p. 478, note 11; *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 9.

3. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 67 + E.M. 6130 + E.M. 12900 + 12949 (Plate XIII). To the inscription published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 67 and augmented by the addition of two new fragments (E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 270-271, no. 5) may be assigned another small fragment kept now in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (E.M. 6130).

ca. 420-410 B.C. stoich. 33

[---]TEN[---]  
[---]τον ἡο[---]  
[---] ἡεκ[---]  
[---]ν κο[---]

The attribution is based on the form and spacing of the letters. Particularly characteristic are the shapes of nu (narrow) and epsilon (broad, the center stroke placed clearly below the middle of the vertical hasta). A comparison of the fragments belonging to this document and of the decree published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 110 reveals a striking similarity in the lettering. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 110 is dated in the year 410/09 while the date suggested for *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 67 is based on a passage in Thucydides (IV, 77, 2) referring to the conclusion of an alliance between Oiniadaí and Athens in 424 B.C. Too little is preserved of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 67 to decide whether the honors granted to Telemachos followed immediately the conclusion of the alliance or were granted after a lapse of several years.

Neither the newly added fragment nor either of the fragments published by Schweigert can be assigned to a definite place in the decree. It seems likely, however, that none of the three small fragments can be directly combined with the larger piece. We were unable to arrive at any certain restoration of the new fragment.

The rough breathing read in line 2 is not clearly discernible; this letter may equally well have been a nu. In the third line, ἡεκ[---] may belong either to a form of ἡκω or of ἑκαστος.

A few alternative restorations may be suggested for the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 67. The restoration of line 3 κ[αθῆάπερ τὸ πρότερον] not only contains a peculiar and unexplained phrase but also a spelling of καθῆάπερ which is at variance with the spelling of the same word restored with certainty in line 8. Less objectionable may be the restoration κ[αθ' ἡότι ἄν τοῖς δέμοι δοκεῖ καὶ θέναι]ι ἐμ πό[λει based on a similar phrase in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8, lines 8-9. This latter inscription, incidentally, belongs to the fifth century; compare A. Wilhelm, *Att. Urkunden*, IV, p. 23.

The name to be restored in line 7 [...ῖας] may have had only nine letters if it was preceded by an uninscribed space. We were unable to find any ten-letter name ending in -ίας.

The restorations of lines 10-11 presuppose that ἐκάστοις is written without the rough breathing although there does not seem to be any other omission of this sign. The only alternative that comes to our mind is the restoration of τρια]κοσίας instead of πεντα]κοσίας. The old restoration was probably based on the occurrence of this sum in the honorary decree for Potamodoros (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 70), recently republished by B. D. Meritt (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 322-323). In fact, these are the only Attic fifth-century inscriptions we were able to find in which specific gifts of money were made to recipients of public honors; compare P. Monceaux, *Les Proxénies Grecques*, pp. 98-99, no. 4; A. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 61. It may be noted, incidentally, that Meritt retained (*loc. cit.*, p. 323, lines 42-43) Wilhelm's restoration [δοῦ]να[ι] although this spelling is at variance with that of the rest of the inscription (see especially line 26). One may restore, preferably, [ἐπά]να[γκες δῶναι ἐκ δημοσίου πεντακοσί]ας δραχμὰς [ἐκά]στ[οι τοὺς κολακρέτας ..... ἐν τ]ῇ αὐρίο[ν ἐμέραι ---].

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# GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATE XIV)

## I. INSCRIPTIONS FROM EASTERN PELOPONNESOS

### A. FROM THE ASKLEPIEION AT EPIDAUROS

1. *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 1, 69. This inscription, discovered some time ago in the Asklepieion at Epidauros, was published by Baunack in *Philologus*, LIV (1895), p. 60, no. 1; by Fraenkel in *I.G.*, IV, 923, and finally by Hiller in *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 1, 69. W. Vollgraff (*Mnemosyne*, LVIII, 1930, p. 40) made a good restoration of the second of the preserved words in line 2 on the basis of *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 56, lines 44/45, an inscription from Argos. The first editor did not state where in the extensive region of the Asklepieion the stone was located and neither Hiller before me nor I have been able to find the inscription.

The stone, which constitutes the middle of a decree, is broken on the right and on the left as well as below. In 1945 the missing fragment on the left (Plate XIV, No. 1) was discovered in a heap of stones at Hagios Ioannes. It now provides us with the beginning of the inscription and gives a clear idea of the form of the letters and consequently of the date.

The dimensions of the new fragment are: height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.08 m. This fragment, when joined to the old, gives approximately 26 letters per line, if one may judge from line 5, where the number of letters can be determined quite accurately.

The inscription, with the addition of the new fragment, can be restored as follows:

Μ ε ν ε κ λ έ [ ο ς ]  
 ἀλιαίαι ἔδ[ο]ξε ἰαρώων : ἀρή(τενε) : Δ[<sup>σα. δ.</sup>]  
 τος Κερκάδας : γρο(φείς) : Λυσικ[*nomen patris*]  
 α Εὐκνρίδας· Μενεκλῆ Μ[*ενεκλέος?*]

5 Φλειάσιον πρό[ξ]ενον [καὶ εὐεργέ]  
 ταν εἶμεν τοῦ [δάμον (?) τοῦ ἐν 'Ε]  
 πιδαύρωι κα[-----]  
 ΠΕΙΘΙΑΑ -----  
 -----

The new fragment makes a significant contribution to the interpretation of the inscription. It raises, however, new problems which cannot be easily solved. This decree, as is known, is attributed to Argos. It was assumed that Menekles, an Epidaurian honored as proxenos in Argos, saw to it that the decree was inscribed on stone and set up in the Asklepieion. This can be inferred from ἀρή(τενε) in line 2 and γρο(φείς) in line 3, for these words are found in the decrees of Argos but not in those from Epidauros.

It now becomes clear from line 5 that the person honored comes from Phlius and not from Epidauros. The Argives, however, had no right to name a man from Phlius as proxenos and benefactor of the demos (?) of the Epidaurians. Furthermore they themselves should not have set up the stele in the Asklepieion.<sup>1</sup> A decree of the Boule and the Demos of the Epidaurians was necessary for the appointment of Menekles (cf. *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 1, 48-53, 57, 96; *Ἑλληνικά*, VIII, 1935, p. 8). If we accept the decree as coming from Epidauros there is no explanation for ἰαρώων, ἀρή(τενε), Κερκάδας, Εὐκνρίδας, which, with the exception of the last, we find in inscriptions only from Argos and in none from Epidauros.

The decree is one of the oldest found in the Hieron. It may be assumed that in some remote period the form of the decrees issued both at Argos and at Epidauros was the same, since the Epidaurians were Dorianized by the Argives; that as time passed the Epidaurians

<sup>1</sup> The stone is from those taken from the *Τίθιον* and used for the inscriptions of the Hieron.

changed the form of their decrees, while the Argives conserved the original older form. Even if we assumed that hypothesis to be correct still we cannot be completely satisfied because in the decrees of Epidauros the names of the archons are always followed by the *κώμη* from which they come,<sup>2</sup> while in those of Argos the names are followed, as in this inscription, by the name of the phratry and sometimes of the *κώμη*.<sup>3</sup>

Consequently we must either begin with the common type of the decrees of the two cities, modified later by the Epidaurians (even though their phratries are mentioned nowhere) or, as is more probable, we must seek for a period when Argos exercised political influence over Epidauros. This influence, though nowhere mentioned, could have taken place in one of two periods: (1) in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C., in which the inscription appears to belong, and more specifically in the period of the war between Argos and Epidauros. It was in this interval perhaps that the Argives, who were at war also with Phlius, held sway over Epidauros and that Menekles, a democrat in exile, was appointed proxenos by virtue of his status as an exile;<sup>4</sup> or (2) in the period immediately after the battle of Chaeronea, when Mnaseas, the friend of Philip, was in power in Argos. It is stated (cf. Hypereides, V, 31) that he set up Athenogenes, the Athenian metic, as archon-tyrant in Troezen. We must imagine that the measures taken against the cities of the Acte, which always followed policies friendly to Sparta, were much more severe in the case of Epidauros with which Argos, having a common frontier, had warred in the past. It is possible therefore that Epidauros

politically was attached to Argos and the absence of evidence for this fact can be explained by the lack of sources and by the great importance given by the historians of this period to the events of the court of the Macedonian kings, for it would be difficult to believe that Xenophon passed over this event in silence.

Political reasons, moreover, could account for the breaking up of the stone on which this decree was inscribed, at the time when the Epidaurians regained their independence.

If finally we compare the general character of the prescripts of the decrees of Argos and Epidauros with this inscription we see that its similarity to those of Argos is beyond doubt.

Line 2. *ἀλιαίαι ἔδ[ο]ξε ἱερῶν*. Cf. *ἀλιαίαι ἔδοξε τῇ τῶν ἱερῶν* in Syll.<sup>3</sup> 56<sub>45</sub>, on an inscription from Argos. The usual formula in the inscriptions from Epidauros is, *ἔδοξε βουλῇ καὶ δάμῳ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων* (I.G., IV<sup>2</sup>, 1, 48-55, 96). At the end of this line we must restore the name of a man beginning with Δ and not δ[αμ|οργῶν], as restored by Fraenkel and Hiller. We have evidence for *δαμοργοί* in Mycenae but not in Argos during the period of democracy (cf. Thuc., V, 47).

Line 4. We meet for the first time with *Εὐκυρίδαι* as the name of a phratry in Argos. Thus the number of the phratries is now increased to thirty (cf. M. Mitsos, *Πολιτικὴ Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀργους*, p. 66).

Line 6. The restoration of this line is very difficult, for approximately 26 letters are required and we would have this number only if we accept the reading *Ἀσκληπιοῦ*. But we only have *θεαροδόκου*<sup>5</sup> for Asklepios while *πρόξενοι* and *εὐεργέται* are mentioned for the city of Epidauros. We must therefore restore a

<sup>2</sup> I.G., IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 42<sub>15</sub>; 49<sub>14</sub>; 51<sub>14</sub>; 53<sub>12</sub>; 54<sub>9</sub>; 58<sub>12-3</sub>; 96.

<sup>3</sup> Syll.<sup>3</sup>, 56<sub>45</sub>; *Mnemosyne*, XLIII, 1915, p. 336<sup>A</sup>, line 8, 367<sup>B</sup>, line 8; XLIV, 1916, p. 221, lines 3, 32; *B.C.H.*, XXXIII, 1909, p. 172, lines 2, 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> For the interest of the Argives in the democratic exiles from Phlius cf. Xen., *Hell.*, VII, 4, 11. During the peace of 365 the Argives sought to have them dwell in the Trikaranon on the same conditions as those in the city.

<sup>5</sup> The two instances of I.G., IV<sup>2</sup>, 1, 96<sub>29, 62-3</sub>, where there is a reference to *προξένους εἶμεν καὶ θεαροδόκους τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ*, should not be held suspect because there is clearly understood or omitted after the word *εἶμεν* the phrase *τὰς πόλεις*.

masculine or neuter noun meaning city. This word could be δᾶμος, but in turn the number of letters in this word does not fill the space and furthermore it raises the question of the political influence of Argos over Epidauros. Perhaps κοινόν could be read and with this cf. the remarks of A. Boëthius concerning an inscription from Mycenae (*B.S.A.*, XXV, pp. 412-3).

Line 8. The preserved letters seem to belong to a name like Πειθίλα[s] (and *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 1, 186, *ἱερομνάμων*) and κα[τάλογος βουλᾶς], at the end of inscriptions from Epidauros, strengthens the case for the restoration of a capital name at the beginning of the next line. Nevertheless it appears that we have here a parallel to *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1, 88<sub>7</sub>. The restoration will imply that Menekles is honored under the same conditions and given the same honors as Peithilas.

2. A square altar of dark stone was discovered in 1934 at Hagios Ioannes in a pile of rocks which came from the excavations. It is now located in the east side of the museum. Only the right side, cut somehow diagonally, is missing. The dimensions are: height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.18 m. On the obverse side it reads (Plate XIV, No. 2):

Τ(ίτος) Ἑλο[ύιος Βασιλᾶς ?]  
ἀνθύπα[τος Ἀχαΐας ?]  
Ἀσκληπ[ῶι — — — — —]

T. Helvius Basila, if the same person is involved here, is known also from two other inscriptions, *C.I.L.*, X, 5056, 5057, which were found in Atina of Latium. He probably came from Atina and seems to be the same person as [B]ασιλᾶς referred to in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*<sup>6</sup> as ἐπώνυμος ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ θεῶς Ῥώμης; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Mélanges Boissier*, pp. 422 ff. He is known to us from the above two inscriptions as an ἀνθύπατος. That he was an ἀνθύπατος of Achaia is now established with probability by this inscription.

<sup>6</sup> Kleucker-Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara*, p. 54, line 72.

<sup>7</sup> *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 174, nos. 13-16.

Two concentric circles have been inscribed on the left side and below them we have the letters  $\overline{ME}$ . That the altar belongs to Asklepios is established both by the inscription and by the circles which are found only on altars belonging to that god.<sup>7</sup> Because of the missing fragment, however, we do not know in what capacity Asklepios or the divinity which shared his altar was worshipped. The number  $\overline{ME}$ , which we meet for the first time, does not help us.

#### B. FROM EPIDAUROS

3. In New Epidauros there lies in the yard of a house belonging to Michael Paulopoulos the upper part of a funeral stele. It is of white marble and has a gable above in the center of which is a sculptured shield. Dimensions: height, 0.47 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.008 m.; height of gable, 0.10 m. Under the gable is inscribed

Εὐαμερί  
χαίρε

The stele dates from the third or second century B.C.

#### C. FROM ARACHNAION

4. A fragment of white limestone built in the wall of a well before the village of Κάντζιτζα, a settlement lying northwest of the foot of Mt. Arachnaion. Dimensions: height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.10 m. Museum of Nauplia, no. 2900. On the obverse side it reads:

ΟΡΟΣΕΜ[Ι —]

an inscription dating approximately from the middle of the fifth century B.C. It appears that a small settlement, perhaps a κώμη belonging to Argos, existed in this region which is traversed by a road leading to the valley of the village Χέλι. In this slightly level region which contains water there can be seen the remains of buildings, drums of columns, and fragments of pottery.



## D. FROM NAUPLIA

5. Our fifth fragment is a funerary relief of white marble that was found in 1935 at Acronauplia during the repairs of the prison there (Museum of Nauplia, no. 2906). Approximately the upper half is broken off (Plate XIV, No. 5), and as preserved it measures 0.39 m. in height, 0.31 m. in width, 0.065 m. in thickness. Its upper part is covered by two male figures facing each other; the one on the left is seated.

Στῆσον ἴχνος [π]αροδείτα καὶ ἄνπαν[σο]ν βρα<χὺ> σῶμα,<sup>8</sup>  
καὶ γν[ώσει] <sup>9</sup> τίς ἐγὼ καὶ τίνος εἰ[μὶ γ]ένους.  
Καλλέου ἱδὼν [ὄρ]ᾳς Κράτερόν ἐμε ΚΛΙCΠ|ΑΡΠΙΑCΙΗ,  
ἦ δέ μοι ἐν με[λ]άθροισι γυνή κλυτὸν [οὔ]νομα Ἀριστώ.

therefore refers to Κράτερος Καλλέου who belonged to a distinguished family and died prematurely, perhaps far from his native land. The words στῆσον and [π]αροδείτα denote a public road passing by the tomb. And this will indicate that the sculptured relief was brought to Acronauplia.

Line 1. Στῆσον ἴχνος [π]αροδείτα: Cf. the similar beginning of an epigram from Myndos (*J.H.S.*, XVI, 1896, p. 214) and other epigrams from Larisa (*I.G.*, IX, 2, 660) and Nigrita (*B.C.H.*, XVIII, 1894, p. 438 = *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, p. 279. [Π]αροδείτα with *ει*, since *ι* is long, is also found in the epigrams from Myndos, Nigrita, and in another from Gytheion; cf. Ἐπιτύμβιον Χρήστου Τσουντα, p. 652.

Line 3. The reading of the second half (see lines 6-7 in the photograph) presents difficulties arising from the poor copying and carelessness of the stonecutter. Perhaps it is possible to read the name of the mother of Krateros in that part.

## E. FROM ARGOS

6. *Mnemosyne*, XLVII (1919), p. 164. No. IX. The fourth line of this inscription was read by its editor, W. Vollgraff, as ον Ἀραχνάδα, Ν. . . . στο. There is no doubt but that the third letter from the end belongs to the ending of the name in the genitive case and that the line must

On the lower part there is a metrical inscription speaking about the deceased, over whose grave stood this monument. Between the figures and the inscription there is a nail-hole above each end of the first verse probably for the attachment of bronze rosettes. The four verses of the epigram, an elegiac distich plus a verse which does not scan plus a hexameter, occupy nine lines. The first four lines are in larger letters. The epigram

be read as ον Ἀραχνάδα, Ν. . . [Ο]Σ το[ῦ] νομῆν πατρὸς, νομῆν φηρατρίαι. This becomes clear from the fact that in this catalogue of names the article is generally put without exception in the genitive case before the name of the father.

The seventh line is read by Vollgraff as ε, Δε[ξ]ία τοῦ Σωσίωνος . . . . ωσο. The last three letters belong to the name of a phratry which always follows the name of the father. If the reading is correct and if the missing letters were restored correctly, then we have the name of a new phratry.

## F. FROM THE ARGIVE HERAEION

7. *I.G.*, IV, 523. In line 5 before -μετρον an I can be read even as shown in the large letters of the copy and in Wheeler, *Argive Heraeum*, I, p. 204. Before this the right half of M can be distinguished on the stone. The word therefore is ἡ[μί]μετρον.

8. *I.G.*, IV, 525. In line 1 (Plate XIV, No. 8) we can read ---N : Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ instead of Fraenkel's Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ, and in line 2 ---TPON instead of Fraenkel's -OON. This should be restored as [μέ]τρον or [ἡμί]μετρον. Before these two lines, however, there are two other shorter lines in which the right halves of the last letters are preserved. The first line clearly ends in Γ (part of a number) while the second probably ends in Γ or Ν.

<sup>8</sup> W. Peek mentions the first two verses of this epigram in *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 62.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 55.

9. *I.G.*, IV, 527. In line 1 read ΝΑΣΜΝΑΜ-- and not ---vas Μι[δ]ί[α] (?) (Fraenkel); or vas Μιαι (Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 210); or ΝΑΣ-ΜΙΑΙΑ (Bechtel, *Genethl. C. Robert*, p. 78); or ΑΣΜΙΑ (Vollgraff, *B.C.H.*, XXXVII, 1913, p. 308).

In line 4 read [Σ]ωφίλ[ον] and not Σωφιλ according to Vollgraff, *loc. cit.*

In line 6 Vollgraff (*loc. cit.*) read α, Λακώ, Λύσις Ἀριστολ[α]. The stone reads Α, Λακώ Αύγεί(α) Ἀριστοδ.

In line 10 instead of στ[ρ]ατ-----[ε]ύς (Fraenkel and Wheeler) or ρα s (Vollgraff) read [Σ]τράτω[ν].

10. *I.G.*, IV, 529. Line 25. Fraenkel read --s Ἀνα--; Wheeler (*loc. cit.*, p. 208) σαν Ἀ. After the fourth letter, however, a T is clearly seen (Vollgraff, *B.C.H.*, XXXVII, 1913, p. 309) and after the lacuna of three letters the upper part of an O, then a lacuna of one letter and after this the upper part of an O. The reading is --σαν Ἀτ[α]ρβ[ο]ο[ς] Ὀ[λ]ισσείδας. The name of the freedwoman is in the accusative while that of her liberator is in the nominative.

Line 26. Fraenkel reads Ἰλ[ν]ρι-; Vollgraff (*loc. cit.*, p. 309) [Φ]ιλ[ύ]ρα[?]. However, the

first preserved letter is N. It is therefore the last letter of the name of the freedman or freedwoman, after which followed the name of the liberator beginning with ΔΥ.

11. *I.G.*, IV, 530. Line 6. The first name of the reading λαράβον, Ἀνδρικός, γαε, Φαήν[ας] was correctly restored by Vollgraff (*B.C.H.*, XXXIII, 1909, p. 183, note 2) as [Κν]λαράβον. Ἀνδρικός is definitely the name of the freedman. This, however, is always preceded in this catalogue, of which there are preserved 22 lines, by the name of the phratry of the liberator, and this is also required here. [Κν]λαράβον therefore is the name of the phratry, deriving its name from the son of Sthenelos of the same name, from whom also the Gymnasium in Argos was named (Pausanias, II, 18, 5; 22, 8-9).

12. *I.G.*, IV, 521<sup>10</sup> + 522. These two inscriptions, published separately, belong to one text. It is a sacred law, engraved on a slab, portions of which comprise the two fragments joined now as the photograph (Plate XIV, No. 12) shows. As the stone now stands, broken off above, below, and on the right, it measures 0.35 m. in height, 0.31 m. in width, and 0.13 m. in thickness. The inscription, as now joined, reads as follows:<sup>11</sup>

----- νκο[----- ἀρ]  
 γυρίωι· αἱ δέ [τ]ίς κα τῶν πριαμέν[ων ποτὶ τοὺς -- τοὺς]  
 [ἀ]ντιτυγχάνοντας πωλὲν τὰ π-----  
 .αθμα τὸν λιπόντα ἔνοχον α[ὑτόν ? -----]  
 5 <sup>1-2</sup>ν καὶ τίς τι ἔχει πᾶμα τῶν κ-----  
 [ἐν]άγωντι τοὶ ἱερομνάμονες ----- αὑ]  
 τὸν [θω(?)]άσαι κατὰ τὸν νόμ[ον -----]  
 τας τα <sup>2-3</sup>φον αἱ δέ κα μὴ ἐνε -----  
 10 ονσω. <sup>3-5</sup>σ.σσωντι ὑπὲρ τοῦ τεμένους(?) ----- ἐ]  
 ξετελε[σ(?) -----  
 ὄσων κα ----- ἀναγρα]-  
 ψάντω ἐν[στάλαι ? -----]  
 ἔχοντας -----  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ τ[εμένους ? -----]  
 15 τοῦ βωμοῦ -----  
 ματα ὡς δε -----  
 κα ᾧ Ἡρα ἔχη α -----  
 τεύων ὅσσα -----  
 .. δὲ τοὶ πέντ[ε -----  
 -----

<sup>10</sup> This fragment was also published in the same year by Wheeler in *Argive Heraeum*, I, p. 206.

<sup>11</sup> I have made corrections in the readings in lines 2, 3, 6-12, 14, 19.

Line 3. [ἀ]ντιτυγχάνοντας instead of .ντι τυγχάνοντας (Fraenkel and Wheeler); cf. also *I.G.*, IV, 554<sub>6</sub> (Argos); *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 409, lines 18/9 (Mycenae).

Line 4. No Γ or Π is read at the end of the line.

Line 7. [θω?]άσσαι. Only the end of the verb is preserved. Its restoration gives rise to difficulties. But since we are guided in the restoration by the sense we must restore a verb having the meaning "to impose a penalty." I think therefore that θωάζειν may be considered sound. Cf. also *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 4<sub>7,12</sub>; II, 1<sup>2</sup>, 1362<sub>14</sub>; IX, 1, 333<sub>9</sub>; *B.C.H.*, L, 1926, p. 214, no. 2, lines 2, 4, 7, 10, 14.

## II. DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS FROM CHIOS

13. Base found in 1930 at Bolissos near Hagios Menas during construction work on a street between the quarters Christos and Python (Plate XIV, No. 13). Now in the Chios Museum. The base is of white marble. On the rear face is a dowel hole. All faces except that which bears the inscription are rough picked.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.62 m.; thickness, 0.25 m. Height of letters, 0.017-0.018 m.

s. II-I a.

Γόργιον Μελάντα ἡ ἱέρεια  
τῶν Κουρήτων Βασιλεί  
καὶ Κούρησιν

Line 1. This is the first-known occurrence of the diminutive Γόργιον. For Γοργ- see Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, p. 112.

Μελάντας is the ordinary κοινή form of this name. The Ionic form Μελάντης occurs in the Chian victors-list of the second century before Christ *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 959, line 23 (cf. Michel, *Recueil*, 898). It would be hazardous to identify the Μελάντης of the victors-list with the Μελάντας of the dedication here published.

Line 2. Βασιλεύς, of course, refers to Zeus, king of the gods and father of the Kouretes. The cult of Zeus Βασιλεύς is known at Erythrai in Asia Minor just across the strait from Chios.<sup>12</sup> The present text adds the epithet to those attested for Zeus in Chios.<sup>13</sup>

Line 3. The cult of Zeus Βασιλεύς and the Kouretes is known at Priene.<sup>14</sup> Zeus Κρηταγενής and the Kouretes share cults at Olymos<sup>15</sup> and Mylasa.<sup>16</sup> We find a cult of the Kouretes at Ephesus<sup>17</sup> and one of the Kouretes and Korybantes at Bargylia.<sup>18</sup> Kouretes or Korybantes are represented on coins of Magnesia on the Maeander, Tralles, Maeonia, Acmonia, Laodicea, Apamea, and Seleucia.<sup>19</sup> And with Caria is connected the tradition of the arrival of the Kouretes in Asia Minor from Crete.<sup>20</sup>

The cult of the Kouretes in Chios is clearly derived from Asia Minor. The time of its transmission we cannot define,—there is no evidence,—but connections between island and mainland were always close, and at Erythrai, opposite Chios and perhaps colonized from Chios, we find the Korybantes worshipped as early as the fourth and third centuries before Christ.<sup>21</sup> The present text testifies to the existence of a sanctuary of Zeus Βασιλεύς and the Kouretes at Bolissos. We have no indication of its location, for the inscription was not

<sup>12</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1014, line 110; H. Gaebler, *Erythrai*, p. 79; for the spread of the cult of Zeus Βασιλεύς see Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 1355.

<sup>13</sup> Zolotas and Saros, *Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου*, I, 1, p. 327.

<sup>14</sup> *Inscr. v. Priene*, no. 186 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 599, note 4.

<sup>15</sup> Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage*, III, no. 338, line 8.

<sup>16</sup> Michel, *Recueil*, 472, line 9.

<sup>17</sup> Strabo, XIV, 640.

<sup>18</sup> Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage*, III, no. 499, line 22.

<sup>19</sup> Pörner, *De Kuretibus et Korybantibus*, diss. Halle, pp. 296 f.

<sup>20</sup> Diodorus, V, 60; *Et. Mag.*, s. v. Εἰδωνος; O. Walter, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XXXI, 1938, pp. 53 f.

<sup>21</sup> Wilamowitz, *Abh. preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1909, p. 32 = J. Keil, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XIII, 1910, Beiblatt, p. 29; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1014, lines 95 and 105; cf. H. Gaebler, *Erythrai*, p. 80; Pörner, *op. cit.*, p. 307.



found *in situ*. The inscription is important for the religious history of Chios. Here I have merely touched upon the problems it presents, for I intend later to return to them in connection with a topographical investigation of the plain of Bolissos.

14. Rectangular base of bluish-green limestone found in 1929 on the plain between the village Biki and the sea. Now in the Chios Museum.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.47 m.; thickness, 0.44 m.

On the upper horizontal face of the stone are two cuttings, one inside the other, running the

width of the stone, designed to secure the dedication. The larger cutting measures 0.23 m.  $\times$  0.22 m., the smaller 0.09 m.  $\times$  0.08 m. The inscription is cut on one of the long sides in fine letters of the fourth century before Christ.

[Φι]λόδημος  
Ἑρμέαι.

The cult of Hermes on Chios is known from inscriptions found in other parts of the island.<sup>22</sup> The present inscription is the only one so far found in the neighborhood between Leptopeda and Nagos Kardamyla.

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<sup>22</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 173 = *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, p. 464; *C.I.G.*, 2229; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1931, p. 112, no. 8.

#### CORRIGENDA

In *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 116, line 2 of the Greek text and on p. 117, line 2 from the bottom of the page for [Αν?]ῆας (*mea culpa*) read [Αν?]ῆας (which Mitsos read, and still reads).

In *Hesperia*, XVI, No. 1, 1947, p. 50, No. 34, for Inv. No. I 3326 read Inv. No. I 3324; for † read ‡ and reverse the photograph on Plate X.

P. A. C.

# THE MASTER OF ANIMALS

(PLATES XV-XXI)

THE ORIGIN of Hermes is obscure, like that of most Greek deities, and so it provides a knotty problem for the researcher. Several scholars have attempted to unravel it, and although they have rarely been in open dispute, the diversity of their opinions proclaims their tacit disagreement with one another. A short critical summary of the most widely held views will follow in order to clear the ground.

The views are all inconclusive, partly because they are based in every case upon anthropological inference only, partly because the separate dilemmas which the problem offers have not all been squarely faced. We will deal first with the god's original character since this has been of particular interest to most scholars. The best known theories are five in number. The evidence for the first which claims him as a Wind God<sup>1</sup> is non-existent. Most popular is the second theory which explains him as a fertility and phallic god in origin.<sup>2</sup> Yet most of the evidence for it is late. Homer, Hesiod, and the late seventh-century writer of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* know nothing of his alleged phallic character, and he is completely anthropomorphic in early art. The upright phallos which represented him at Kyllene in Elis is unique, and the authors who report it are all late. The strongest support for this theory has been the ithyphallic herm which, on anthropological grounds, would argue a phallic origin. But the earliest herms like the one from Siphnos do not antedate the first quarter of the 6th century;<sup>3</sup> and it has recently been proved beyond doubt that the origin of the phallic herm is to be sought in the cult of Dionysus, not of Hermes.<sup>4</sup> Finally, Hermes has almost nothing to do with the fertility of the earth, having obtained an entry into the Andanian and Eleusinian Mysteries as a pastoral, not as a vegetative deity.<sup>5</sup>

Nor is there early evidence to support the third theory that Hermes was originally an underworld divinity.<sup>6</sup> The *Iliad* is silent, and the *Odyssey* knows him only as a

<sup>1</sup> Scherer, Roscher's *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, I, pp. 2360 ff., but see Farnell's devastating dismissal of the theory, *Cults of the Greek States*, V, p. 9, note d.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 429, note 4, p. 704 and *passim*; S. Eitrem, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, VIII, 1, pp. 773 ff.; Jane Harrison, *Themis*, p. 297; Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, pp. 76 f.; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, II, pp. 1329 ff., thinks Hermes is both chthonian and fertility god; L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, I, 1, pp. 386 ff., stresses his fertility aspect especially with regard to the pastoral sphere but also in general.

<sup>3</sup> R. Lullies, *Die Typen der Griechischen Herme*, pl. 2, 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Hetty Goldman, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 58 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 10 f.; Pausanias, II, 3, 4; IV, 1, 8; Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*, 653; E. Roberts and E. Gardner, *Inscriptions of Attica*, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Gruppe's views have already been mentioned; Preller finally discarded the chthonian theory advanced in *Demeter und Kore*, p. 201; Nilsson at first claimed him as a Death God in origin (*Griechische Feste*, p. 390), but since then he has modified this view (cf. *Greek Popular Religion*, p. 8); Persson, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra*, accepts Nilsson's earlier view (see p. 114).

guide to Hades.<sup>7</sup> The Homeric hymn barely mentions this activity<sup>8</sup> and, judging from the later literature and art, his chthonian activity remained that of Psychopompos, although his underworld associations rendered him in time sufficiently awesome in the eyes of a few for them to invoke him as a chthonian power.<sup>9</sup> Yet on the whole his position in Hades was a subordinate one, to be understood not as a shorn heritage of powers which he once possessed and of which he was subsequently deprived, but as a development of his function of guide. This development was both facilitated and encouraged by a widespread change in burial customs at the end of the Bronze Age.<sup>10</sup>

The last two theories about Hermes' original character are more weightily supported than any of the others by evidence from all periods, but no scholar has examined any of it in detail and the Homeric evidence has been almost completely ignored. One theory suggests that a very primitive function of Hermes was that of Guide to the wayfarer;<sup>11</sup> the other argues that he was a pastoral deity whose original concern was with flocks.<sup>12</sup> An examination of these two activities with emphasis on the Homeric evidence will provide us with a point of departure, although the literature and art of almost every century reveals that they were always prevalent in popular belief. The two functions do not appear to be closely connected but they have one aspect in common which is frequently expressed, powerfully emphasized by Homer, and of considerable importance to the search for the god's original character and power. This aspect is Hermes' protectiveness; he protects the wayfarer and he protects the flock.

An examination of the *Iliad* will show that, although Hermes is referred to more than once in digressions from the narrative, his most important activity in the epic is that of the Guide. Therefore it is clear that this idea about the god was firmly established in the minds of ninth-century Ionian Greeks. The epithet Diaktoros, which is almost certainly to be interpreted as "the Guide,"<sup>13</sup> occurs more often than any other except Argeiphontes. There are other references to him of a like nature. He is once described as *τοῖος ὁδοιπóρος*, three times as *πομπός*, and twice as *τοῖος πομπός*.<sup>14</sup> The significance of the demonstrative adjective should not be lost. Furthermore, he is

<sup>7</sup> *Odyssey*, XI, 625 f.; XXIV, 1 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. lines 571 f.

<sup>9</sup> His name often occurs in the "devotiones" (cf. *Arch. Anz.*, 1907, p. 127; *C.I.G.*, 538). Orestes (*Choeph.*, 1 ff.) appeals to the chthonian Hermes, but Aeschylus here seems to make Zeus responsible for the god's power in the underworld.

<sup>10</sup> I hope to deal with this at some length in my book on the cult and concept of Hermes.

<sup>11</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.*, V, p. 17; Preller, *op. cit.*, I, 1, p. 400; Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.

<sup>13</sup> H. G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, Homeric Hymns, and Homeric, passim*, translates the word in this way. Its meaning has been much disputed, but after a critical analysis it will be found that the most cogent arguments support the interpretation of the epithet as "Guide." I hope to consider both "Diaktoros" and "Argeiphontes" at some length elsewhere.

<sup>14</sup> *Iliad*, XXIV, 375; 437, 439, 461; 153, 182.



the deity who dominates the twenty-fourth book as the guide of Priam on his dangerous journey to and from the tent of Achilles.<sup>15</sup> But his guidance is not merely mechanical; it includes protection, and Homer is at pains to stress this. Note the emphasis on the god's solicitude for the aged king when he first approaches: "But the helper himself drew near and took the old man's hand and spoke to him,"<sup>16</sup> and his endeavours by means of a friendly conversation to calm the old man's fears. How carefully, too, the poet describes the god's anxiety for Priam's welfare and his preparation for the return journey, for Hermes himself harnesses the mules to the cart which is to carry them back to Troy.<sup>17</sup> But the protective aspect of the god's function is perhaps most forcibly expressed by Zeus himself in his words to Hermes earlier in the book:<sup>18</sup>

Ἑρμεία, σοὶ γάρ τε μάλιστά γε φίλτατόν ἐστιν  
ἀνδρὶ ἑταιρίσσαι.

Four passages in the *Odyssey* contain references to Hermes' function of guide, in three of which the god himself appears as a personality. The fourth will be considered first as it has the added interest of being the first reference in art or literature to the god's simplest monumental form. Eumaeus mentions an Ἑρμαῖος λόφος above the city which he passed on the way back to his hut.<sup>19</sup> The scholiast explains that the Ἑρμαῖος λόφος was a stone heap. Even without his learned comments it is clear to the reader that the monument is a waymark, in fact, a guide. Attention has already been drawn to two of the other *Odyssey* passages wherein we encounter Hermes as the guide. Under the god's safe conduct Herakles and the souls of the dead suitors travelled to Hades. More important is the third passage which tells of the god's sudden appearance to Odysseus who wanders alone in the mountains.<sup>20</sup> Hermes comes of his own accord to help Odysseus, taking action independently of other supporters of the hero, even of Athena who is not concerned with this adventure. At present, the main interest of this episode for us is that once again the poet introduces Hermes as the guide, and once again he lays stress on the protective aspect of the deity in carrying out this role. Hermes takes the hand of Odysseus and exclaims: "Whither, unfortunate, dost thou thus wander alone in the uplands, strange to the place?"<sup>21</sup> The god's protectiveness is implicit in everything he says and does here, but, if additional evidence is required, it will be found in Hermes' own words: "But come now, I will save and preserve you from harm."<sup>22</sup>

This trait is displayed by the god in his pastoral activities as well, so before it is subjected to further analysis let us recall what Homer has to say of Hermes' concern

<sup>15</sup> Achilles mentions these dangers, *ibid.*, XXIV, 563 ff., and so does the god, XXIV, 683 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 360 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 677 ff., 690 f.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 334 f.

<sup>19</sup> *Odyssey*, XVI, 471 f.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 277 ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 280 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 286.

with flocks and herds. Direct reference is made to his power to increase them in the passage about Phorbas, the Trojan, who is described as "rich in flocks."<sup>23</sup> His son, Ilioneus, had his flocks increased, and hence his wealth, through the intervention of Hermes who loved him. The god's ability to do this is mentioned by another early author, Hesiod, who associates him with Hekate in the byres.<sup>24</sup> Another reference in the *Iliad* is found in a digression from the narrative where Homer tells the story of the parentage of Eudorus, a son of Hermes by a maiden called Polymele, a member of Artemis' choir.<sup>25</sup> In Polymele's name we can see a reference to Hermes' pastoral concerns. The same word is used adjectivally with respect to Phorbas.

The single passage in the *Odyssey* relevant to the present subject is perhaps the most interesting of them all. Eumaeus kills a boar for dinner and divides it into seven portions, one of which he sets aside for Hermes and the nymphs.<sup>26</sup> We learn from this that Hermes' connection with the half-divine creatures of wood, field, and mountain was very early and sufficiently close for them to share sacrifice. We also learn which deities a herdsman was careful to honour.

Nymphs are mentioned often in the *Odyssey*. Athena refers to some who dwell in caves.<sup>27</sup> Animals of every sort were cared for by them,<sup>28</sup> and like Hermes, they protected travellers. The nymphs of Ithaca with whom he is associated actually possessed an altar at which all wayfarers offered sacrifice.<sup>29</sup> Such a community of ritual and function is not surprising, for it is clear even from the Homeric poems that he and they were thought to haunt the same kind of country.

Of all Hermes' epithets, Argeiphontes occurs in Homer most often, fourteen times in the *Iliad* and thirteen times in the *Odyssey*. It means "The Slayer of Argus."<sup>30</sup> The poet does not relate how Hermes released the heifer, but Hesiod seems to have told the story of Hermes, Io, and Argus.<sup>31</sup> The epithet thus alludes indirectly to the god's protection<sup>32</sup> of domestic creatures, so that we find in Homer an idea which is often expressed in later periods. Kriophoros was a usual epithet and was officially attached to him in more than one locality. Artistic representations of him in this guise are usual from early times onward, and two famous sculptors of the "transitional period," Kalamis and Onatas, chose to present the god in this manner.<sup>33</sup> They

<sup>23</sup> *Iliad*, XIV, 490.

<sup>24</sup> *Theogony*, 444.

<sup>25</sup> *Iliad*, XVI, 179 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Odyssey*, XIV, 434 ff.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 347 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, p. 14.

<sup>29</sup> *Odyssey*, XVII, 210 f.

<sup>30</sup> This is its traditional meaning but, like "Diaktoros," its meaning has been disputed and I will discuss it more fully in another place.

<sup>31</sup> Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, XXIV, 24.

<sup>32</sup> Argus may have been at first simply a shepherd dog and not a monster. Odysseus' dog possessed that name, and the word is frequently used adjectivally to describe dogs. If so, Hermes' interference may well originally have been terrifying rather than benevolent. Observe Apollo's words to Hermes in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, 286 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Pausanias, IX, 22, 1; V, 27, 8.

may have helped to establish a type because Hermes Kriophoros is afterwards encountered over and over again in the major and minor arts, but the type could only arise out of a prevailing religious idea.

Thus, even in the earliest period, the protective aspect of Hermes was so pronounced that we may fairly view it as part of his function of guide and of pastoral god. But if his worshippers thought that he protected travellers and flocks, they obviously believed that he had the power to do it, and so it is pertinent to ask what specific harm was feared by men in early Greece which the god, in their opinion, was empowered to avert. The state of society which Homer describes enables us to infer a good deal about this. For one thing, its economic structure was largely pastoral; for another, travel in open country and in the mountains was dangerous because of sudden and frequent assaults upon travellers, herdsmen, and flocks by wild beasts. An examination of the similes of Homer will show that this inference is not fanciful. He often derives his similes from wild animals. We find him describing a lion hunt, a leopard hunt, a lion attacking a bull, or herds of cattle, or even plundering the cattle steading and the sheep folds, and one simile gives a detailed description of a lion and a hunter who has wandered far afield.<sup>34</sup> Similar references to lions and other wild beasts in both epics could be multiplied. These animals constitute the main danger against which Hermes offers protection, and considerable evidence exists to prove that he was able to protect because he could *control* wild beasts. But for the moment let us confine our enquiry to the epics. His concern with and control over such creatures is actually implied in the *Odyssey*. He says "I will save and preserve you from harm." But what was it that Odysseus had most to fear when he was wandering alone in the uplands? It was Circe, of course, but the danger of the witch lay for him in her regrettable habits of transforming men, not only into swine, but into wolves and lions as well.<sup>35</sup> A very Mistress of Animals<sup>36</sup> was Circe, but she says herself that she had been told that she would fail on one occasion. It was Hermes who informed her of this;<sup>37</sup> it was likewise he who was responsible for her failure because he gave the moly to Odysseus. Moly, according to two later authors,<sup>38</sup> grew at Pheneus and on the slopes of Mt. Kyllene; that is, in the very region where the cult of Hermes was at all times strongly entrenched. It is to our purpose to notice that, while Circe is mistress of many whom she has metamorphosed into wild beasts, Hermes is the

<sup>34</sup> *Iliad*, XX, 164 ff.; XXI, 573 ff.; XVII, 542; XVIII, 573 ff.; XVII, 657 ff.; XXIV, 41 ff.; XVIII, 318 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Odyssey*, X, 210 ff., 239 ff., 431 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Circe appears to have absorbed some of the main characteristics of a Minoan predecessor and so she acts as another and independent survival of the pre-Greek Mistress of Animals whose most familiar successor is Artemis. This problem will be dealt with at some length in my book.

<sup>37</sup> *Odyssey*, X, 330 f.

<sup>38</sup> Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, IX, 15, 7; Pliny, *N.H.*, XXV, 4, 8.



one who can effectively oppose her on her most powerful ground.<sup>39</sup> His powers were equal to those of the dread goddess and she bowed before his intervention. The significance of this will become more apparent when we come to tests of our material other than the Homeric.

#### THE EARLIEST MONUMENTAL FORM OF HERMES

Few scholars have considered the problem of the god's original form in great detail. Since his phallic character is apparently non-existent in the early period and since the origin of the phallic herm can be assigned to the cult of Dionysus, the assumption that Hermes' earliest form was a phallic post or simple phallos<sup>40</sup> is clearly not justified. A far better case can be made out for the simple stone heap. Several authors allude to these heaps, the earliest being Homer himself who, as we have seen, calls the god's stone heap an *Ἑρμαῖος λόφος*. Nilsson, who has always claimed the stone heap as Hermes' earliest monumental form, suggests that a larger unwrought stone may often have surmounted it.<sup>41</sup> Fact is made of this brilliant inference by the discovery of a large grey stone inscribed "Hermanos" (Plate XV, *d*) which was embedded in a stone heap on a hillside in Laconia.<sup>42</sup> A three-stroked sigma marks the inscription as 6th century in date<sup>43</sup> but because epigraphists have been so interested in the lettering, the immensely significant circumstances of the find have gone totally unnoticed. This stone in its heap presents us with an actual *Ἑρμαῖος λόφος* which had presumably remained undisturbed for centuries. Although the inscription is 6th century in date, the cult object itself may be much older. In any case it is striking testimony from a fairly early period which lifts Nilsson's suggestion from the realm of conjecture into the world of fact.

Further archaeological support is given by a number of fifth-century silver tetradrachms from Segesta in Sicily. The first shows a hunter with his foot on a heap of stones (Plate XXI, *e*). That this is Hermes' heap is clear from another coin struck at the same time (Plate XXI, *g*) where the herm rises diagonally out of it. On yet another Segestan coin of the same period the herm is replaced by a large spherical stone which tops the heap (Plate XXI, *f*).

It emerges, then, that Hermes' simplest, and presumably, his earliest monumental form was a heap of stones often surmounted by a larger unwrought stone. Such was probably the *Ἑρμαῖος λόφος* mentioned by Eumaeus who, like other rustic worshippers, believed the spirit of Hermes to be immanent in that heap.

<sup>39</sup> Hermes could also change the shape of living creatures. He taught Autolykos the art, according to Pherecydes Fragment 63. Artemis also transformed mortals into beasts. We recall the misfortunes of Actaeon and Kallisto.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Scherer, *loc. cit.*, I, pp. 2391 f.; Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 631; Gilbert Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>41</sup> *A History of Greek Religion*, pp. 109 f.

<sup>42</sup> H. Dressel and A. Milchhöfer, *Ath. Mitth.*, II, 1877, p. 303.

<sup>43</sup> Roberts, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, pp. 251, 270.

## THE GOD'S NAME AND SOME OF HIS EPITHETS

The derivation of the name Hermes from *ἑρμα*, being sound for all dialectical variants, is therefore almost certain.<sup>44</sup> It corresponds so well with the primitive ritual significance of the cult as to be descriptive of it, for if we accept the derivation, as surely we must, the name simply means "He of the stone heap."<sup>45</sup> Consequently it is Greek. Yet a mass of evidence points to his origin with a pre-Greek people; so the student is faced with a riddle. Farnell considers the Greek etymology to be a very serious obstacle in the path of enquiry, but it is not an insuperable barrier.

It is wise to bear in mind that Homer refers to the god almost as often by a few of his well-known epithets as by the name which we usually give to him. Diaktoros and Argeiphontes, singly or together, are alternative names for him, and so is Eriounios.<sup>46</sup> The last epithet, meaning the Ready Helper or Bringer of Blessing, refers to that aspect of benevolence and protection which was considered earlier. As we have seen, the word Hermes is descriptive of his form. Two of the three epithets just mentioned are descriptive of his personality and his function; the third derives from a very ancient legend which alludes to the god's pastoral associations. The epics indicate that the god may have had more than one appellation among ninth-century Ionian Greeks. At least there would be no confusion in their minds if one alluded to the god by one of these three epithets because Argeiphontes, Diaktoros, and Eriounios designate him as surely and unmistakably as the name Hermes. They are used of no other deity in the poems and are consequently to be ranked as functional, not as ornamental epithets.

## NON-HELLENIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GOD

With whom, where, and at what time did Hermes originate? Some have ignored the problem raised by his Greek name and have boldly proclaimed him Pelasgian.<sup>47</sup> Sir Arthur Evans suggests a pre-Greek origin for him by implication.<sup>48</sup> Other

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Preller, *op. cit.*, I, 1, p. 385 f., note 5.

<sup>45</sup> Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 389, emphatically remarks that any disagreement with this derivation must arise from the fact that it will not suit a pre-conceived theory. I just as emphatically agree with him. Cook, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 383 f., note 7, accepts the derivation from *ἑρμα* but translates it as "prop," — and see Hetty Goldman, *loc. cit.*, p. 68, who points to the Homeric use of the word to mean the long wooden props with which the Achaeans beached their ships. But supports other than wooden props were used at a very early time for beaching ships. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 624 f. advises the would-be seafarer to draw up his ship on the shore for the winter and pack it tightly with *stones*.

<sup>46</sup> It occurs alone twice, cf. *Iliad*, XXIV, 360, 440.

<sup>47</sup> J. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 631, and Gilbert Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>48</sup> *Palace of Minos*, III, p. 524. Evans thinks that the aniconic agalma of Hermes on Mt. Kyllene may well have been of Minoan workmanship. This statement implies that, in the great scholar's opinion, the concept inherent in the agalma was known to this pre-Greek people.

scholars<sup>49</sup> have cautiously called him Greek, but this fails to account for the god's many non-Hellenic traits. Still others withhold their opinions, thereby leaving the subject an open question.<sup>50</sup> Only Farnell<sup>51</sup> has subjected the indirect evidence to a careful analysis, but even he does not concern himself with the survival of Minoan characteristics in the classical cult of Hermes, nor has he noticed the monumental evidence which proves the existence of the cult in the Late Helladic Age.

His treatment of the ethnic problem consists of a survey of the cult's geographical distribution, of the form and character of the god, of his mythological associations and festivals; and a pre-Greek origin for the Hermes concept is implicit in this general internal evidence, especially if it is viewed collectively. The main points made by Farnell are the god's aniconic form, the fact that his worship in the historical period was most powerful in regions with deeply rooted Pelasgian traditions like Attica and Arcadia, his connection with the earliest Arcadian genealogies, and the Saturnalia-like practice in the Cretan Hermaia. During these festivals the slaves changed places with their masters,<sup>52</sup> and Farnell thinks the slaves may represent a stock of earlier people who had been conquered by the invaders and who were the earliest worshippers of Hermes. This practice, according to Farnell, is "the best and clearest evidence" that Hermes originated among a pre-Hellenic people.

A few more points can be made: Hermes' subordinate position in the Olympian hierarchy, his aspect of thievishness, his connection with early legendary characters like Autolykos, Odysseus, and Perseus, his share in the sort of conflict between divinities which reflects a racial collision and which ends either in the complete overthrow of the older divinity or in a compromise. The most famous conflict involved Hermes with Apollo and it ended according to the legend in friendship. Lastly, in historical times Hermes could boast, not many temples, but the unswerving devotion of common folk.

#### MINOAN SURVIVALS IN THE CLASSICAL CULT AND CONCEPT OF HERMES

If one scrutinizes the historical cult and concept of both Athena and Artemis one discovers certain peculiarities which are demonstrable Minoan survivals. Such a scrutiny has never been directed towards Hermes but it reveals similar survivals, and most of the evidence for Minoan traits in his cult and concept is significantly early.

Two types of sanctuary were usual in Minoan times, the outdoor and the indoor

<sup>49</sup> Eitrem, *loc. cit.*, VIII, 1, p. 773, says "Die Gestalt des Hermes geht in die Urzeit der Griechen zurück"; O. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1318 f., presumably thinks Hermes to be Greek since he favours the theory of the god's connection with Sarameyas.

<sup>50</sup> Preller, *op. cit.*, I, 1, p. 385, regards the cult as very ancient but forbears from giving a definite opinion owing to difficulties surrounding his name. Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, p. 391 does not express an opinion about the people of his origin but thinks they must have been a pastoral folk.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.*, V, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Athenaeus, XIV, 639 B.



shrine. We can recognize two main kinds of outdoor shrine, the cave and the rock shelter. Many sacred caves in Crete have yielded votive offerings in bronze and terracotta of Minoan workmanship.<sup>53</sup> Now Hermes was often venerated in caves,<sup>54</sup> the two most interesting being those on Mt. Kyllene and near Patsos in Crete. They deserve some consideration.

Northern Arcadia, especially Mt. Kyllene, was beyond doubt the most hallowed of all places where Hermes was afforded worship. He had a temple on the summit of the mountain,<sup>55</sup> and the legends which recount the circumstances of his birth almost all agree that he was born in a cave on the mountain by Maia. The mountain was carefully explored and few caves were found. One corresponds with the description of Hermes' birthplace in the Homeric hymn.<sup>56</sup> Pausanias does not mention the cave but it has been pointed out that its existence was probably forgotten in his day. Votive offerings in terracotta were found in the cave when it was discovered, and the early date of many of these indicates that the sanctity of the place was observed at a much earlier period. For our present purpose, the cave is much more interesting and significant for precisely that reason. Hermes derived one of his most important epithets, Kyllenios, from this very mountain. Its first occurrence in literature is in the *Odyssey*<sup>57</sup> and although his cult may have been discontinued on top of Kyllene and within the cave, the epithet was never forgotten so long as Hermes claimed a place in the hearts and minds of men.

The god's cult in the cave near Patsos does not seem to have fallen into desuetude, but neither this nor the Kyllenian cave has ever been scientifically excavated. Some of the votive offerings in bronze and terracotta found at Patsos were dedicated in Minoan and slightly later times.<sup>58</sup> They will be considered at length below.

The sanctuary of Middle Minoan date on Mt. Juktas shows that mountain tops were also considered to be sacred by the Minoans, possibly because of the natural awe they induced. When we turn to Hermes we find that he favoured the tops of mountains too. He is to be found on Mt. Juktas itself, and Kyllene, the highest mountain in Arcadia, belonged to him. Several others can be mentioned: Akakesion in Arcadia and Mt. Kerykion in Boeotia which was claimed as his birthplace, and he was present within the very precinct of the Zeus temple on Mt. Lykaïos.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Nilsson, *M.M.R.*, pp. 49 ff. for a good critical précis of these finds.

<sup>54</sup> Mt. Parnes ('Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1905, p. 102), Cilicia (*J.H.S.*, XII, 1891, p. 240), Asia Minor (Pausanias, X, 32, 5), Mt. Ida in Crete (*C.I.G.*, 2569).

<sup>55</sup> It was in ruins when Pausanias visited it; cf. VIII, 17, 1-2.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Pieske, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XI, 2, p. 2455, and A. Scheffler, *De Mercurio Puero* (Königsberg Dissertation, 1884), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>57</sup> XXIV, 1.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. F. Halbherr, *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica*, II, pp. 913 ff. and pl. 14; Nilsson, *M.M.R.*, p. 61, dates the find to Late Minoan, but J. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete*, pp. 148 f., favours a Middle Minoan III dating. W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, p. 35, puts some of the bronze animals into the Protogeometric period.

<sup>59</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1904, pp. 200 ff., pls. 9, 10, figs. 20-22; Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 84, note 1.

Thus Hermes inhabited the sort of outdoor places which, in Minoan belief, had been sacred. In one certain <sup>60</sup> instance he occupied a cave to which the Minoans had actually brought offerings long before the end of the Bronze Age. In historical times his cult seems to have been rather powerful in the same region, judging from fifth-century and later coin types of Sybrita,<sup>61</sup> a town not very far east of the cave in question. He was also known at Phaistos <sup>62</sup> and in many other places in Crete.<sup>63</sup>

Among other objects which frequently appear in Minoan religious art are sacred stones and pillars. No god familiar to us in historical times is more closely associated with the stone and pillar cult than Hermes. We have already noted his most primitive image which was an heap of stones often surmounted by a larger stone, but another usual shape was the semi-iconic herm which consisted of a shaft supporting a bearded head and having the phallos placed halfway up its length. The ithyphallic terminal figure, Dionysiac in origin, probably attached itself to Hermes sometime during the centuries after Homer. It was customary for the semi-iconic image as well as the large unwrought rock to be placed upon a stone heap, although the heap was sometimes replaced by a four-sided plinth, and this kind of cult statue of Hermes had a widespread popularity, ranging from Magna Graecia to Panticapaeum.

Hermes was by no means the only god in historical times who was associated with the sacred stone or pillar but his connection with this sort of cult was more marked than most. For example, no other god bothers about the simple stone heap. It was customary for even the casual traveller to add another stone to the cairn as he passed it,<sup>64</sup> but since these heaps were often in lonely parts of the country and on hill tops, they were most often encountered by peasants and shepherds who took their sheep and goats to graze in the uplands. Hermes in his aniconic form was more familiar to herdsmen than to anyone else and so it is probable that his stone heaps received their most profound veneration from pastoral folk.

The god's connection with trees is not so spectacular as with pillars and stones but it is close enough to cause the writer some surprise that attention has not been drawn to it before now as an instance of Minoan survival. The shaft of his pillar was often made of wood and several famous agalmata were also wooden. This is a custom which obviously derives from Minoan practice and is to be met with in the case of every Greek deity, but three of his agalmata are worth mentioning. An image of Hermes stood in the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis, simply described

<sup>60</sup> The date of the earliest Kyllenian finds we unfortunately do not know.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pl. XXXVIII, 5-8.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI, 13.

<sup>63</sup> At Aptera, Dreros, Gortyna, Itanos, Kydonia, etc., cf. Eitrem, *loc. cit.*, p. 753.

<sup>64</sup> Scholiast on *Odyssey*, XVI, 471, and Cornutus, *Theol.*, c. 16, p. 24. The custom has been variously explained since the 5th century B.C.: Xanthus, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, I, p. 38, 9; Sir James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, IX, 8 ff.; Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, pp. 389 f.

as a wooden agalma which was hidden in a tangled growth of myrtle.<sup>65</sup> It was dedicated by Kekrops. Our only authority is Pausanias, who is on the whole reliable, and we can trust the tradition of its great age because of the place wherein it was kept. A callow newcomer was not likely to find his way into that temple. Nor was Hermes a stranger to the Acropolis. Representations of him were found there in the excavations which include archaic reliefs and an equally archaic head of a herm.<sup>66</sup> But the early association of Hermes and Athena is interesting in view of her own undoubted Minoan origin.

At the time of Pausanias' visit to Troizen there was a wild olive tree growing in such a way as to entwine the image of Hermes Polygios. Local tradition had it that when Herakles rested his club against the image the implement took root and life and grew again into a living tree. There have been various attempts to explain the epithet *πολύγιος*<sup>67</sup> which need not concern us here; the main lesson of the account is Hermes' close connection with a tree which he himself in the view of the Troizenians caused miraculously to grow.

The agalma on Mt. Kyllene is our third instance. This was enormous,<sup>68</sup> and its material was sufficiently unusual for Pausanias to digress on the kinds of wood used by primitive people for their sacred images. Sir Arthur Evans<sup>69</sup> thinks it may have been a Minoan cult object, but in spite of the apparent durability of this wood which is related to cedar and resists both insects and rot,<sup>70</sup> it is difficult to believe that the image had existed for more than a millenium and a half. Kyllene is a very high mountain and Pausanias saw a ruined temple; so the image could not have had much protection. We do not, on the other hand, know how long the temple was in ruins. The writer is far from rejecting the implication of Evans' suggestion. The Minoan dedication might easily have been replaced by an exact replica.<sup>71</sup>

We have not done with the god's concern with trees. In the Homeric hymn to Hermes we read that the young god thwarted Apollo's angry purpose by making the withies by which he was to be imprisoned spring up and entwine until they covered the rest of the cattle.<sup>72</sup> This miracle recalls the Troizenian tradition related to and by Pausanias, and so the legend which attached to Hermes Polygios may have been

<sup>65</sup> Pausanias, I, 27, 1. I completely agree with Cook, *Zeus*, III, p. 725, note 5, that there is no reason to assume that the sacred object was a phallos.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *B.C.H.*, XIII, pl. XIV; H. Payne and G. Young, *The Archaic Marble Sculptures of the Acropolis*, pls. 8, 2; 104, 1-4.

<sup>67</sup> Pausanias, II, 31, 10; cf. J. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 366, note 3, and Eitrem, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1909, p. 333.

<sup>68</sup> There is nothing in Pausanias to suggest that it was phallic.

<sup>69</sup> *Palace of Minos*, III, p. 524.

<sup>70</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, IV, pp. 245 f.

<sup>71</sup> Pausanias notes other instances of Hermes' connection with trees, IX, 22, 2 and 24, 5; cf. also Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pl. X, 14-16.

<sup>72</sup> 408 ff.



an old one, indeed a variant of that in the Homeric Hymn. But with the author of the latter we are the better part of a millennium earlier in time and we find a most important association of Hermes with trees. Nor should we overlook moly which plays so important a part in the *Odyssey*. This cannot be called a tree but it was living vegetation, and its powers, too, were momentous, for they concerned wild beasts.

Finally, let us consider Hermes' staff. The place of its origin as well as its true significance in early times is a vexed question.<sup>73</sup> There is not sufficient evidence to prove that the Greeks adopted it from anyone else—unless they were pre-Greek—and the serpent staff of the Babylonians cited by Frothingham is not a true caduceus. The rhabdos carried by the god in Homeric literature has no serpents and the earliest representations of the usual caduceus show variations on the 8-shaped termination but no attempt to indicate snakes. Our concern is its material. The *Odyssey* reports the rhabdos to be of gold but the *Iliad* does not specify its material. It is obvious that a humbler stuff, probably wood, was originally used to make the staff.<sup>74</sup> As it possessed magic powers from the earliest times it could easily be transmuted into gold through the alchemy of the imagination, for gold, too, is thought to have magical properties. A wooden prototype, however, is something more than conjecture. Apollo describes the rhabdos which he gives to Hermes as *τριπέτηλον* "three-leaved" or "three-branched,"<sup>75</sup> and in the second quarter of the 7th century B.C. a Corinthian painter decorated a pinax with Poseidon and Amphitrite in a chariot followed by Hermes, identifiable by his beard and by the caduceus which he holds in his right hand (Plate XX, *a*). The interesting tip to this wand has not gone unnoticed;<sup>76</sup> from it spring two three-leaved shoots, one above the other.

Attic vase-painters seem to have thought of the caduceus as wooden also. Hermes on a sixth-century Attic black-figure vase holds a gnarled caduceus in one hand as he aids Poseidon in teaching Herakles how to fish (Plate XX, *b*).<sup>77</sup> More interesting is the tondo of an early red-figure kylix (Plate XX, *c*).<sup>78</sup> Behind Hermes is a tree; he bends over and grasps a smaller but similar tree to strip it of its leaves and superfluous branches in order to make a caduceus. This vase-painter, too, considered the caduceus to be of wood. We need not stress the fact that this staff was his most characteristic attribute. He is almost never without it.

The epiphany of the Minoan deity was often in the shape of a bird. As with so many Greek gods, the bird survived as a creature sacred to Hermes. The cock seems

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Böttskes, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XI, 1, pp. 332 ff.; also Frothingham, *A.J.A.*, XX, 1916, pp. 175 ff.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. F. J. M. de Waele, *The Magic Staff in Antiquity*, p. 37.

<sup>75</sup> Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, 530.

<sup>76</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Vasensammlung*, I, p. 62, and De Waele, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>77</sup> Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des Monuments Céramographiques*, III, pl. XIV.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, III, pl. LXXIV.

to have been his favourite fowl but his association with it is not so marked as Athena's with her owl. But the actual appearance of Hermes and his way of getting from place to place are far more interesting. Even in the *Iliad*<sup>79</sup> his chosen form of movement is flight, and a lovely passage in the *Odyssey* describes him as "like to a bird."<sup>80</sup> There is no reason to believe that he has taken the form of a bird, and it is most unlikely that Homer wished to convey such an idea in view of the fact that Hermes carried his wand as he flew. Homer speaks more than once of Hermes' sandals which carried him swiftly over land and sea<sup>81</sup> and so he probably envisaged Hermes in the same way that we do. And as soon as the god is found in art in his anthropomorphic form he has wings attached to his boots or to his cap or both. Much more important is his occasional portrayal in archaic art with wings like those of Artemis Potnia Theron because they spring from his body. A kylix, potted and painted about 540 B.C. shows Hermes on both sides seated on a rock. He holds what is probably a lagobolon in his left hand, wears a cap, and his feet are shod with the usual winged boots. From his breast spring two great curling wings, stylized in the usual orientalizing manner and very like those which Artemis has at the same period (Plate XXI, *a*).<sup>82</sup> About ten years later another Attic painter displayed Hermes<sup>83</sup> with wings springing from the shoulder, but they are more naturalistically rendered (Plate XXI, *b*).

Nilsson<sup>84</sup> has suggested that the survival of wings in the case of both Hermes and Iris is functional; they are messengers and therefore require speed, an explanation suitable for Iris but not for Hermes because he never appears as a messenger in the *Iliad* and yet in that poem he makes his way swiftly by flight from place to place. Probably the explanation which Nilsson gives for the wings of Artemis Potnia Theron serves also for Hermes. He suggests that her wings represent a conflation of the bird and human epiphany, either but not both of which at once the Minoan deity, whose successor Artemis is, chose to assume. It is true that Hermes' wings are functional when he has become a full-fledged messenger but this idea was in its infancy in Homeric epic.

The Minoans had a Nature religion and they did not exclude from it as too terrifying the wild beasts she nurtured. Their religious art records both a Mistress and Master of Animals.

Hermes' association with goats, sheep, and cattle is well known, and we have

<sup>79</sup> *Iliad*, XXIV, 345.

<sup>80</sup> *Odyssey*, V, 49 ff.

<sup>81</sup> *Iliad*, XXIV, 340 ff.; *Odyssey*, V, 45 f.

<sup>82</sup> Lenormant and De Witte, *op. cit.*, III, LXXV.

<sup>83</sup> Lenormant and De Witte, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114, identify this figure as Hermes. I find that H. B. Walters, *C.V.A.*, British Museum 4, pl. 50, 1 a, and text p. 4, calls the winged figure a wind god; but since he does hold a staff, wears a nebris and is one of a company which so often includes Hermes, Lenormant and De Witte are surely correct in their identification.

<sup>84</sup> *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 437.

already considered the Homeric evidence which shows that ninth-century Ionian Greeks were familiar with him as a pastoral god. We also observed, first, that travellers, shepherds, and flocks were protected by him, secondly, that the main danger for all of them was the attack by wild beasts, and thirdly, that Hermes presumably possessed the power which would render his guardianship effective.

If one turns to the short verses of Leonidas of Tarentum, an early Hellenistic author, one will find that he calls the god "protector of flocks" in one of his epigrams, and in another he states definitely the danger which the god averts:<sup>85</sup>

Morichus the goatherd set me up, Hermes, the overseer, to be the approved guardian of his fold. But, ye nanny-goats who have taken your fill of green herbage on the mountains, heed not now at all the ravening wolf.

Hermes' concern with and power over beasts of prey have hitherto been almost unnoticed, but evidence both literary and archaeological for his interest in animals and monsters is considerable. Our first definite literary statement is quite early; in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, Zeus endows his son with many powers in addition to those given by Apollo:<sup>86</sup>

Take these, Son of Maia, and tend the wild, roving, horned oxen and horses and patient mules.

So he spake. And from heaven father Zeus himself gave confirmation to his words and commanded that glorious Hermes should be lord over all birds of omen and grim-eyed lions and boars with gleaming tusks and over dogs and all flocks that the wide earth nourishes.

Does this passage explain the incredible feat of slaying the oxen which Hermes managed to do beforehand? "Great strength was in him"<sup>87</sup>—yet he was not a day old!

In two places in the *Iliad* Homer describes a lion as "hankering after flesh," *κρείων ἐρατίζων*.<sup>88</sup> The hymn writer twice used the same phrase of Hermes himself, first when the god plans the theft of the cattle, and again when Apollo retorts to his protest that he knows nothing about it.<sup>89</sup> The second passage is sufficiently interesting to quote: "You will plague many a lonely herdsman in mountain glades, when you come on herds and thick-fleeced sheep, and have a hankering after flesh." So speaks Apollo, and the habits which he describes are very like those which are indulged in by the wild beasts themselves.

In fact, Hermes is a very Master of Animals in this poem, and the writer is not unique in what he says. He provides us with our most definite literary statement of these powers, but he is not our earliest source.

<sup>85</sup> *The Greek Anthology*, VI, 334; XVI, 190. This is W. R. Paton's translation.

<sup>86</sup> 567 ff. Translation of H. G. Evelyn-White here and below.

<sup>87</sup> *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 117.

<sup>88</sup> XI, 551; XVII, 660.

<sup>89</sup> 64, 287.



Moreover, the god is connected with hunters. Aipytos, whose grave according to Homer<sup>90</sup> was near Mt. Kyllene was killed whilst hunting; Amphion learned music from Hermes who gave him a lyre to bewitch wild beasts when he played on it;<sup>91</sup> Pan, the son of Hermes, was fond of the chase; Autolykos, another son<sup>92</sup> whose name means "the wolf himself" or "the very wolf," hunted around Mt. Parnassus; and black-figure vase-paintings<sup>93</sup> show him with Athena attending the combat of Herakles with the Nemean lion.

Another very famous hunter turned to Hermes for help in the chase. Our evidence for this is archaeological and it supports, moreover, an interesting passage in Arrian which we must consider first. In his treatise on hunting<sup>94</sup> Arrian says that it is advisable to offer sacrifice to certain deities before starting the chase. Hermes is one, and Arrian carefully gives two of his epithets, *ἐνόδιος* and *ἡγεμόνιος*. Thus the prospective hunter is urged to sacrifice to Hermes, protector of travellers, as a cautionary measure. Theophrastus also refers to the custom of pouring libations to the wayside heap, but he does not give a particular reason for it.<sup>95</sup>

The archaeological evidence which supports Arrian's statement comes from a much earlier period. Consider first a skyphos made about 400 B.C. probably in Boeotia. The painting shows a young man seated, labelled Kephalos, who holds two spears and pours a libation from an oinochoe to an ithyphallic herm (Plate XV, *f*). Behind him is his hound who busily sniffs a hedgehog; the herm,<sup>96</sup> roughly drawn, is deeply embedded in a heap of stones. To the right stands Artemis, the Great Huntress herself, also labelled, holding two spears.

Contemporary with the skyphos is a coin minted at Pandosia in South Italy. The reverse shows a naked Pan seated on a rock holding two spears with his hunting hound at his feet (Plate XXI, *c*). In front of Pan is a bearded terminal herm to which a caduceus is affixed. To be compared with this Pandosian coin are the Segestan tetradrachms mentioned above. They show that in Segesta,<sup>97</sup> too, the god was associated with hunters. Local legend told how the nymph Segesta was ravished by Krimissos, a river god, who assumed the shape of a hound for the purpose. Their child, Egestos, founded the city and it is he, as hunter, who occupies the obverse or reverse of most of these coins. On one we see him with a hound,<sup>98</sup> resting his foot

<sup>90</sup> *Iliad*, II, 603 f.

<sup>91</sup> Pausanias, IX, 5, 8. He cites a much earlier source.

<sup>92</sup> According to Pherecydes, Frag. 63 (*Frag. Hist. Graec.*, I, p. 87).

<sup>93</sup> *C.V.A.*, British Museum 6, pls. 75, 4; 77, 3; 76, 4 and elsewhere.

<sup>94</sup> *De Venatione*, 34.

<sup>95</sup> *Char.*, 16.

<sup>96</sup> Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, p. 8 and fig. 3, also considers this Hermes, not Priapus. Our illustration is from C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, pl. 41.

<sup>97</sup> The Greek element in Segesta seems to have come from Phocaea in Ionia; cf. Ziegler, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, II, 1, p. 1057 f.

<sup>98</sup> Which may represent Krimissos. I must thank Charles Seltman who drew my attention to this evidence and to P. Lederer's dissertation, *Die Tetradrachmenprägung von Segesta* (Munich, 1910).

on the heap of stones and holding two hunting spears in his left hand (Plate XXI, *e*). On another, Egestos is accompanied by two hounds instead of one, and rising out of the heap is the semi-iconic herm wearing a pilos (Plate XXI, *g*) like the one which dangles at the neck of the hunter himself. The third coin has the large round stone topping the heap as its most interesting feature, but on it we see another hunter with weapons and hound, this time Krimissos who can be identified by the horns on his head (Plate XXI, *f*).

These coins and the Boeotian skyphos inform us that Hermes' concern with hunters was not only recognized in the 5th century but that the recognition was widespread over the Greek world. It is not the sort of religious idea which is likely to have originated among a people so highly urbanized and commercial as the Greeks in the 5th century; on the contrary, the idea belongs to a rural economy which the Greeks had had to replace to some extent by industry and commerce long before. Its widespread existence implies that it was familiar to those Greeks who had indulged in colonization during the 8th and 7th centuries. The implication sheds any taint of conjecture when one recalls the remarks in the Homeric hymn, and when one turns to archaeological evidence which, like the hymn, antedates the 5th century. It consists chiefly of vase-painting. This was a minor art which provided a livelihood for ordinary people; the vase-painter was a craftsman who derived his designs from the customs, beliefs, and ideas of his contemporaries. He was no religious innovator. He made his pots to sell them, and the scenes which he depicted were chosen because of their wide appeal.

Like the hymn writer, artists in Athens and Corinth who lived during the late 7th and early 6th centuries had the notion that Hermes was associated with wild beasts, for the god is shown in their company on several vases. Whereas the writer of the Homeric hymn stated his view, the vase-painters depicted theirs, and the combination of literary and archaeological evidence shows that the ideas were prevalent about 600 B.C.

Corinthians loved to paint animals on pots which they were able to export widely during the 7th and 6th centuries. An interesting aryballos was imported into Delos (Plate XVIII, *c*) which is typical Corinthian work of the first quarter of the 6th century B.C.<sup>99</sup> On the aryballos two leopards move towards each other around the vase turning their fierce faces frontally. Hermes stands between them, one hand tucked into his short chiton, the other holding a very long caduceus. At about the same time an Athenian painted a dinos in black-figure which subsequently went to Naukratis. He divided his design into friezes which he filled with wild animals and monsters. In this company we see Hermes standing, caduceus in hand, flanked by two smiling sirens while all round him are lions, boars, and other monsters (Plate XIX, *a, b*). On vases

<sup>99</sup> Charles Dugas, *Le Trésor de Céramique de Délos*, pl. XXVI, 357.

of this kind Hermes is the "human" creature<sup>100</sup> who appears,—if one appears at all,—and he stands alone amid a wild or even monstrous gathering. At the end of the 6th century Maia joins him on a vase (Plate XVIII, *d*).<sup>101</sup> Mother and son stand in the middle facing one another; a ram approaches from the right while from the left moves a goat followed by a lion with heavy mane and gaping jaws.

A wild animal which Artemis Potnia Theron frequently holds in subjection is the stag. Hermes occasionally demonstrates his power over the same animal. On an archaic gem<sup>102</sup> we find him dressed in the usual way and holding his caduceus in one hand. In the other he grasps the hind hoof of a stag which dangles upside down (Plate XXI, *d*).

The foregoing evidence makes comprehensible the position and power of Hermes in the Circe story. We have seen that the god's mastery over wild animals is recognized in the archaic period both in literature and in art. It is what Hermes *does* in the 10th book of the *Odyssey* which bears out their testimony and makes him Circe's redoubtable opponent.

Thus, very early indeed in the historical period, we find Greeks associating Hermes with beasts of prey as well as with the more timid sheep and goats. It is not surprising that the hunter will pour a libation to him before engaging on his risky venture, nor that the shepherd will consider his image to be a protection for the flocks against attack by wild beasts. The god is at home with monsters too. He is seen with sphinxes and sirens in Corinthian and Attic art. Frequently, at all periods, he joins satyrs and silens who are, like himself, most at home in the countryside. Hermes' demesne remained rural even in so urbanized a civilization as the Greek during the 5th century, although his character had developed a metropolitan suavity by this time. Even in the Hellenistic period he is shown<sup>103</sup> with several animals: a goat, dog, horses, cock, panther, and dolphin.<sup>104</sup>

#### MONUMENTAL EVIDENCE FOR HERMES IN THE BRONZE AGE

Mycenaean representations exist for both Zeus and Athena. I believe the same may be said for Hermes. Attention has been drawn to the object before now, but no one has seen its connection with the classical concept of the rural Hermes who, in semi-iconic form or represented simply by a large rock, stands in a heap of stones.

<sup>100</sup> J. D. Beazley and H. Payne, *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, p. 256, and Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 143, remark the frequency of Hermes' appearance with wild beasts and monsters in the ceramic art of this period but they overlook the Homeric hymn. Their explanation for his association with them is that he is god of roads. I partly agree with the explanation (which they do not develop) so long as it applies only to the period at which the vases were painted.

<sup>101</sup> Lenormant and De Witte, *op. cit.*, III, pl. LXXXV.

<sup>102</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. XVI, 1.

<sup>103</sup> *B.C.H.*, XIII, 1889, pp. 375 f. and pls. XII, XIII.

<sup>104</sup> For Hermes' interest in fish see Pausanias, VII, 22, 4; Athenaeus, VII, 287 A; and dedications by grateful fishermen recorded in the Anthology.



In one of the rock-cut tombs at Mycenae Tsountas discovered a number of glass plaques three of which were published by Sir Arthur Evans and referred to in later publications by himself and by other authors. They provide the clearest evidence for the sacred character in the Bronze Age of the pillar or large stone.<sup>105</sup> All three show a similar scene which is ritual sacrifice to a stone or stones of various sizes. On one (Plate XV, *e*) the objects are fair-sized free-standing pillars.<sup>106</sup> Another is profoundly interesting, for, in an important detail, it is unique.

This glass plaque (Plate XV, *a*), illustrated by Sir Arthur Evans,<sup>107</sup> has been referred to by Professor Wace<sup>108</sup> who dates it with the others to Late Helladic III, that is, to the last period of the Bronze Age. Nilsson<sup>109</sup> and Evans have described the plaque, but no one has observed its full significance. It is agreed that a stone heap surmounted by a larger object is depicted which is receiving ritual honours. The object is probably a large stone, and on it two daimones pour a libation from prochooi. These daimones are often to be found in Bronze Age art carrying the sacred libation jug, but their character and habits will engage our attention later. Just now let us consider that which engages theirs.

What we see here is a libation given to a heap of stones. In the mind of the craftsman who made this plaque the idea existed that a heap of stones was a worshipful thing. He presumably shared the idea with others, for the object was found in a tomb, having been placed there by mourners. This craftsman lived during that period which we call Late Helladic III. We have leapt the chasm made by the Dorian Invasion and have found on the other side an idea—expressed in an action—which was also to be found in the place whence we have come. The action is ritual libation. The idea is that a deity is either immanent in the heap and its surmounting stone, or is connected with them. In fact, we discover at Mycenae the earliest extant evidence for this idea in Greece, for the plaque tells us that sacrifice was offered to stone heaps during the Bronze Age. In the historical Greek period sacrifice was also offered to such heaps, and those heaps were sacred to Hermes whose spirit was immanent in them. Let us observe once again the vase on which Kephalos is depicted doing honour to the herm (Plate XV, *f*). He, like the Mycenaean daimones, pours a libation from a jug, and the heap is as clearly shown by the fifth-century Boeotian vase-painter as it is by the unknown Mycenaean craftsman. Both heaps are topped by a larger object. On the vase the object is clearly an ithyphallic herm; on the plaque, a large round stone, but we know that such unwrought stones were sacred to Hermes. The round rock on which Krimissos rests his foot on the Segestan coin replaces the semi-iconic

<sup>105</sup> I agree with Nilsson that columns or pillars having a structural function have no indisputable claim to be sacred images in themselves.

<sup>106</sup> Evans, *J.H.S.*, XXI, 1901, p. 117, fig. 13.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117, fig. 12; *Palace of Minos*, IV, p. 455, fig. 380.

<sup>108</sup> *Chamber Tombs of Mycenae*, p. 62; *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-1923, p. 380.

<sup>109</sup> *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 219 and 221.

herm on the other coins (Plate XXI, *f, g*). It strongly resembles the stone on the plaque.<sup>110</sup> More important for comparison is the crude slab inscribed with the god's name which was found in its heap near Chrysapha (Plate XV, *d*) because it provides absolute proof of such an aniconic form for Hermes, and sacrifice to the herm is shown on vase-paintings, some of which antedate the Kephalos vase by more than a century.<sup>111</sup>

Hermes is not merely the divinity of the heap in historical times but the only Greek god who is. We may say at once that the form of the divinity on the plaque and the kind of ritual it receives directly correspond with a familiar form assumed by the later Hermes and the ritual which he received. Still we cannot claim to have discovered Hermes' origin in spite of the fact that we have found a heap deity in the Bronze Age, a time when the two racial and religious components which were Greek and pre-Greek had been well mingled. It is fairly obvious from our knowledge of the Minoan religion that the plaque represents the pre-Greek. Did Hermes merely appropriate the form and rite, or has he a closer connection with the idea expressed here? We can settle this question when we have found the answer to another. What is the character of the deity of this particular heap? Does it, or does it not correspond with what we know of Hermes?

The stone heap occurs occasionally in Bronze Age art and three objects which display it are interesting. One of these is a white carnelian seal of the "signet" type (Plate XV, *b*) dating from Middle Minoan II b and found in East Crete near Kritsa.<sup>112</sup> Mounting a heap of six stones on either side is a wild goat. One looks back over his shoulder, the other looks upward, and behind each of them is a small palm tree. The character of this scene is secular with nothing to suggest religious significance until we compare it with other objects. Note, however, that a Minoan engraver associated wild goats with stone heaps while another Bronze Age artist portrayed a scene in which libations are poured to such a heap.

Belonging to the same period as the carnelian and coming from central Crete is a banded agate engraved with a similar scene (Plate XV, *c*). The goats are not present; there are more rocks in a less tidy heap which is surmounted by a palm tree<sup>113</sup> very like those on the seal above, but it is much larger. Two smaller shoots spring lower in the heap. A third Minoan heap is also flanked by animals, but this time wild goats are replaced by lions (Plate XVI, *b*). This fragmentary clay sealing was found in the

<sup>110</sup> Another Minoan-Mycenaean reminiscence in fifth-century Sicily appears on a coin of Catana where a bull-leaper is depicted. Cf. also Diedrich Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur* for Mycenaean finds in Sicily.

<sup>111</sup> *C.V.A.*, British Museum, III H *e*, pl. 45, 6 a and 6 b; Micali, *Storia*, 3, pl. 96, 2; L. Curtius, *Die Antiken Hermen*, fig. 1.

<sup>112</sup> Evans, *Palace of Minos*, IV, p. 488.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 494. Evans identifies the trees with a palm. There is some evidence that palms were sacred to Hermes in classical times; cf. Eitrem, *loc. cit.*, p. 759.

Little Palace at Knossos.<sup>114</sup> We are able to make out part of an entablature and the top of a column. Crowning all this is a stone heap, the summit of which is gone. There remain the two hind legs of the left lion and the left hind leg of the right. Evans has reconstructed the group in two ways<sup>115</sup> which need not concern us here as both reconstructions are conjectural. We are satisfied with identifying the heap and the beasts. Evans calls attention to the cairn shown on the glass plaque when discussing this stone heap and stresses the importance of the connection between the lions and the sacred object. He also compares these lions with those on the famous signet from Knossos of Middle Minoan III to which we now come.

The signet has been lost, but several clay impressions of it were found which display the following scene (Plate XVI, *a*). The façade of a building is on the left with columns and horns of consecration, a door below, and two separate horns on top. In the centre appears the Mistress of Animals in the usual Minoan female garb, standing on top of what is either an enormous heap of stones or, as is usually now supposed, a mountain peak. Flanking her as guardians, but placed on a much lower level, are two lions. A young male figure stands at the right; he is perhaps a votary.

It is probably correct to interpret the central object which supports the goddess as a stylized rendering of a mountain peak but the relation between it and the cairns already observed is obvious. We are getting nearer to understanding the nature of the heap divinity.

Let us look into the daimones who pour the libations on our plaque. They frequently occur in the art of the Bronze Age. An examination of their habits leads one naturally to Nilsson's conclusion that they are neither human nor fully divine, but are gods of lower rank, typically Minoan,<sup>116</sup> and creatures of popular belief. These daimones are closely connected with the cult. Frequently they appear as its servants, but we know from some representations that they are superior to human beings and animals, are often to be found with animals, and are obviously thought to possess power over them. One daimon moves along carrying a monstrous bull on a chalcedony lentoid; another shoulders a stag on a Cretan bead seal. More interesting is a carnelian seal on which a daimon carries the carcasses of two lions suspended from the ends of a long pole. Melos produces a broken carnelian lentoid whereon we see a daimon leading a lion. From Mycenae comes another lentoid which dates from the Late Helladic period (Plate XVII, *c*).<sup>117</sup> The creature shows its power over animals by standing between two lions and extending an arm over the head of the right hand beast.

<sup>114</sup> *Palace of Minos*, II, p. 523 f.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 524, fig. 327; IV, p. 608, fig. 597 A, i.

<sup>116</sup> *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 324 ff. I agree with Nilsson that the assumption of an Egyptian origin is almost groundless. What is most important about them are their functions which belong to Minoan belief, *ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>117</sup> For these gems cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, IV, p. 431, fig. 354; p. 441, fig. 364; p. 442, fig. 367; p. 444, fig. 369; also *J.H.S.*, XXI, 1901, p. 168, fig. 46.



We have gone still further in establishing the nature of the heap divinity on the plaque, for in its ministers we find creatures who have power over such terrifying beasts as lions and bulls. But the daimones are themselves inferior to the greater gods because they administer to their cults. Scenes on other objects show the actual subjection of daimones to a greater god. They act, in general, as the servants of the gods but they are the immediate subjects of one. That one is the Master of Animals.<sup>118</sup>

The religious association between the Master of Animals and his daimones is depicted on a gem in the Castellani collection (Plate XVI, *d*).<sup>119</sup> The god stands in the centre, faces right and grasps the daimon on either side of him by the head. They hold libation pitchers, while behind them is shown the bough or slim trunk of a tree. The god is clearly in control of the creatures. They command animals; so does he, but he commands them. We do not find the Mistress of Animals exerting this control. They are the Master's especial minions. On a rock crystal lentoid from Phigaleia we again find the god centrally placed and flanked by daimones, but the god exerts an even fuller mastery, for he has caught them by their tongues (Plate XVI, *c*).<sup>120</sup>

Each of the several parts of the glass plaque reveals, after analysis, the same thing. The heap itself led us to wild animals. The daimones proved not only to have command over wild beasts when they wished to exert it but are themselves the direct subjects of the Master of Animals. I think it is reasonable to conclude that it is he whom the stone heap denotes, and so it is well to give him some consideration.

Minoan male deities are rare, but the Master of Animals has a definite and certain position. We have observed the god in relation to his ministers already. Let us observe him with animals. Two seals which come from Kydonia, or near by, in Crete represent him with animals.<sup>121</sup> One, made of basalt, dates from Late Minoan I (Plate XVII, *d*). Again the god is placed in the centre, his divine character indicated by the horns of consecration at his feet. On the left a winged goat rears upon its hind legs; our daimon, on the right, faces the Master with the libation jug in both hands. The second representation occurs on a beautiful white agate lentoid (Plate XVIII, *b*). The young god, centrally placed as usual, stretches his arms over the heads of two lions as he did with the daimones on the Castellani gem. Two enormous hounds accompany the Master of Animals on a broken clay seal from Knossos which dates from the transition between the Middle and Late Minoan periods.<sup>122</sup> With this is possibly to be associated another Middle Minoan clay sealing from Knossos where the god, capped and bearing shield and spear, strides to the right accompanied by an animal which is either a lioness or a large dog (Plate XVII, *e*).<sup>123</sup> This clay seal was found with another on which the Mistress of Animals appears with a lion. Also from Middle

<sup>118</sup> Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 328, has observed this.

<sup>119</sup> Evans, *Palace of Minos*, IV, p. 465, fig. 389 *a*.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, p. 466, fig. 390.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, p. 467, figs. 392, 391 *bis*.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, p. 581, fig. 566.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 465, fig. 324 *a*.

Minoan III, but coming from Hagia Triada, is a clay sealing of the Master of Animals who holds a bow and is accompanied by a lion.<sup>124</sup>

The mainland and Aegean islands also have produced representations of the god. A finger ring of jasper from Mycenae displays him holding one fierce lion by the throat and another by the hind leg (Plate XVIII, *a*).<sup>125</sup> A ring now in Berlin but found in the islands shows a similar scene.<sup>126</sup> It is very interesting that, on the first ring, the god is represented with a beard, a fashion which we have reason to believe was introduced by the Greeks. No Minoan men ever wear beards.

Nilsson has pointed out the connection between the Master of Animals and the sacred bough, and has noted that the god replaces this object and "other cult implements on other seals."<sup>127</sup> Our own examination of the component parts of the glass plaque has led in every case to wild animals. On the Castellani gem the two daimones who flank him carry the very libation jugs with which we see them on the plaque, where his place is taken by the heap. In another case, we have found the sacred tree with which he is associated, and the heap of stones together.

The nature of our heap divinity is thus apparent. He is that deity for whom Nilsson has coined the term "Potnios Theron," the counterpart of the Minoan Mistress of Animals, and himself Minoan in origin. Hunting was a favoured sport among the Minoans, and he develops easily into the Hunter's god<sup>128</sup> from what was probably a daimonic origin. He first appears anthropomorphically in Crete in Middle Minoan III and is found with fair frequency during the Late Minoan period. Although he is Minoan and therefore pre-Greek, he seems to have been recognized and accepted by the Greeks, for his worship continued well down into the last part of the Late Helladic period, as our plaque tells us, and the newcomers at Mycenae seem to have endowed him with a beard.

I think our path has come to an end and that we have found the idea which underlies the concept of the god who, after changes and much development, appears before our eyes in Homer with the name of Hermes. We know that from the very earliest historical times Hermes dominated the heap which received ritual libation. We know also that the heap deity of the Minoans was their Master of Animals and god of hunting. Hermes too, as we have seen, controlled beasts and was appealed to by hunters: the authority of vase-paintings is strengthened by coinage, Hermes' powers in the 10th book of the *Odyssey*, and the important literary testimony of the Homeric *Hymn*. He retains his connection with monsters and with daimones who appear with

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 505, fig. 363 c.

<sup>125</sup> C. Tsountas, *Mycenae* (Athens, 1893), pl. 5, 5.

<sup>126</sup> Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium*, pl. 1, 9.

<sup>127</sup> *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 309.

<sup>128</sup> I agree with Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 353, that his weapons do not indicate a martial character, for they are the sort of weapons used first of all during the Bronze Age for hunting. Moreover, the pursuits of war were not loved by the Minoans.

him often on vase-paintings. Startled and joyous satyrs surround him on a late fifth-century vase by the Dinos Painter (Plate XVI, *e*),<sup>129</sup> and in the very early Homeric *Hymn* addressed to Aphrodite he is associated with silens.<sup>130</sup>

Nilsson has suggested that one of the Minoan daimones rose from daimonic to divine status. This Being he identifies with Pan.<sup>131</sup> To support his derivation of Pan from these creatures whose garb often resembles the skin of some feline creature is the literary evidence which reports that Pan wore a lynx pelt.<sup>132</sup> And what of Hermes' concern in this question? At an early period he acknowledged paternity of Pan.<sup>133</sup> We have observed the similarity of interests between the Master of Animals and his daimones, and this also prevailed between Hermes, his son, the satyrs, and the silens. Once again popular belief has shown its tenacity and we perceive another instance of survival.

Hermes was known at Kydonia<sup>134</sup> where two Minoan seals depicting the Master of Animals were found. And I should like now to call attention once again to the finds of the Patsos cave. Several little Minoan images were found here. Nilsson is rightly cautious about the nature of the deities of these outdoor shrines, for it is not usually revealed by the votives dedicated in them. However, the Patsos cave certainly knew some deity during the Bronze Age. Equally certain is it that Hermes Kranaios was worshipped there in the historical period, but Hermes' presence there in later times is not the reason for my suggestion that the cave was the property of the Minoan Master of Animals. One terracotta male head deserves closer study (Plate XVII, *a*).<sup>135</sup> Divinity is indicated by a curious headdress which has three whorls above the double band encircling the brow. On almost every well-preserved seal showing the Master of Animals three similar circles appear on top of his head which to my mind indicate such a headdress. The three circles are clear on the Kydonia gems (Plates XVII, *d*; XVIII, *b*), and on a Knossian<sup>136</sup> sealing (Plate XVII, *b*) where he is flanked by lions the headdress, distinctly rendered, strongly resembles the one which crowns the Patsos terracotta. To the best of my knowledge the correspondence of these headdresses has not been observed.

Nor has it been noticed that the small bronze figure found in the same cave and published by Sir Arthur Evans<sup>137</sup> corresponds almost exactly to the Master of

<sup>129</sup> Lenormant and De Witte, *op. cit.*, III, p. xc, and an interesting red-figure pelike shows a shaggy satyr contemplating a herm on its heap; cf. *C.V.A.*, Compiègne, pl. 17, 11; Micali, *Storia*, pl. 96, 3.

<sup>130</sup> 262 f.

<sup>131</sup> *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 328. In a footnote on the same page he refers his readers to a passage in *A History of Greek Religion*, p. 111 where he considers the emergence of Pan.

<sup>132</sup> Homeric *Hymn to Pan*, 23 f.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 ff.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Eitrem, *loc. cit.*, p. 753.

<sup>135</sup> F. Halbherr, *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica*, II, pl. 14.

<sup>136</sup> Evans, *Palace of Minos*, IV, p. 608, fig. 597 A, *h*.

<sup>137</sup> *J.H.S.*, XXI, 1901, p. 125, fig. 15.



Animals as he appears, in hunter's guise, on the Knossian sealing mentioned above (Plate XVII, *f, c*), for in both representations the god wears a short tunic held in tightly at the waist by a belt, and a very tall, peaked cap.<sup>138</sup> The bronze figure is damaged, but it obviously carried a spear and shield just like those shown on the seal and so it, too, presents the deity as a hunter.

This bronze and the terracotta head go to establish the identity of the god in the Patsos cave. The Master of Animals was the Bronze Age Lord of the shrine.

Therefore the other finds admit of interpretation. Small bronze and terracotta images of domestic goats and cattle were dedicated in the cave, most of which are to be dated to the same period as the terracotta head. I suggest that these were offered by herdsman who visited the cave to invoke the god's protection for their flocks. Some of the objects already studied show that the Minoan god had such interests: there is the winged goat on one engraving, and on another two goats mount his stone heap. Sheep and goats grazed in the uplands and shepherds often had their folds far away in the hills, sometimes in caves, like Polyphemus.<sup>139</sup> Odysseus, for example, had a long upward climb to reach the hut of Eumaeus. The Master of Animals was a hunter's god, but he must have appealed strongly to shepherds also because of his power over lions, wolves, leopards, and other beasts which threatened flocks. In short, the sphere of this Minoan god was wider than has been hitherto supposed, for his very power would recommend him to shepherds as a god. They had themselves to turn hunter occasionally in order to protect the weaker creatures under their care. It is not surprising that the Master developed a protective aspect, or that this protection was offered to mortals and flocks which ventured into his domain.

There remains a problem for us to solve. How may Hermes' name be explained? Farnell has suggested that the mysterious Gortynian name *hedas* harks back to the original worship.<sup>140</sup> He may be right, but we cannot state this as a certainty. Even if we could, the name Hermes would still be a problem.

Hermes' name means, as Preller suggested and Nilsson agrees, "he of the stone heap." It is a Greek term, and it is descriptive in quality. May not the Greeks have so described the spirit of the heap of stones which they encountered when they entered Greece? They found a population which revered a powerful god, and soon discovered the places which he was believed to inhabit, but they did not discover his name. In connection with this suggestion it will be interesting to quote a passage from Herodotus:<sup>141</sup> "Formerly, in their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods—this I know for I was told it at Dodona—without giving name or appellation to any; for they had not as yet heard of such."

Farnell rejects the statement on the grounds that Herodotus favours an Egyptian

<sup>138</sup> The historical Hermes often wore a similar tall peaked cap.

<sup>139</sup> *Odyssey*, IX, 181 ff.

<sup>140</sup> *Cults of Greek States*, V, p. 9.

<sup>141</sup> Book II, 52.

origin for the names of the gods, which we know at the very least is highly unlikely. Nor is it likely that our pre-Greeks knew no names for their divinities, but Herodotus' statement may on the other hand reflect the state of affairs in which the god's name was so holy or so terrifying that his worshippers rarely gave voice to it.<sup>142</sup> Let us now turn our minds specifically to Hermes. It requires little imagination to apprehend the terrifying aspects of the Master of Animals. The analogy that comes at once to the mind is provided by the Erinyes who were more commonly given the euphemistic title of Eumenides. In the present case, the Greek newcomers might easily encounter the god and not learn his name, for which reason they gave him a nickname of their own: "Old Heapy," "the heapy one," or, more respectfully, "he of the heap." Another explanation of Herodotus' statement may be that the subject people withheld the name of their god from the conquerors in order that they might not empower them further with the knowledge of it, in which case the Greeks again would have to resort to a descriptive name of their own. And we must not forget how often Hermes is referred to by an epithet in Homeric literature, and how often these very epithets replace his name. Let us repeat that several of these are descriptive of his character whereas "Hermes" is descriptive of his form.

Herodotus goes on to say: "when the Pelasgians, then, inquired at Dodona if they should adopt the names that had come from foreign parts, the oracle bade them use the names. From that time onward they used the names in their sacrifices; and the Greeks received these later from the Pelasgians."

This leads us to the consideration of the survival of the nickname of the god at the expense of the true name. First of all, apt nicknames have a tendency to stick. Secondly, there were several waves of invaders coming at intervals, all of whom spoke a Greek dialect and who would cleave to a name they understood. More and more inhabitants knew the god as "Old Heapy." Greek in time became the common language and ousted that spoken by the pre-Greeks. Herodotus' second statement may reflect the growing obsolescence of names and terms belonging to the older tongue.

Before leaving the subject it would be as well to note that the Minoan god of animals was adopted by the Greeks and very much adapted. This process was gradual, but it is easy to understand that, having once adopted him, they should prefer the name to which they were accustomed. Athena may be raised as an objection to this suggestion. No Greek word could change her name. The answer is, however, that the invading Greek deities were on the whole male<sup>143</sup> and thus more likely to come into conflict with other males. Also, the Minoan goddesses, forerunners of Artemis and Athena, were extremely powerful. Not for them was the struggle for existence which faced their male kindred.

The tale of the development of the Minoan god, though interesting, is a long one,

<sup>142</sup> As Farnell assumes, *op. cit.*, I, p. 13.

<sup>143</sup> Hestia may be a Greek goddess.

and this article has sought only to establish a tenable hypothesis of Hermes' origin. He has other facets in Homeric literature besides the two most important ones which we considered above. One of these, his concern with herdsmen and flocks has been examined and put, it is hoped, in its proper light. But what of Hermes, the guardian and guide of travellers? It must be our task to explain how this function arose.

The stone heaps sacred to the Minoan god were everywhere. Many lost and lonely travellers must have hailed the heaps with joy when they came upon them because travelling in Greece was uncertain if not dangerous in the early part of the 2nd millennium B.C. when the first Greek-speaking peoples penetrated the peninsula. There were no roads; still, the god's stone heaps guided one from place to place. In that respect they were convenient to the traveller. Often the wayfarer went through wild country; the god whose heaps guided him through it also protected him from the lions, wolves, and boars which dwelt there. That is why Hermes' guidance of travellers is not simply mechanical, and it must have been this function more than any other which enabled him to survive among the Greeks, for they would obviously require the god as a guide far more, particularly at first, than would the people whom they conquered.

To illustrate the activity of the wayfarer's god I shall draw attention to a few lines of the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*.<sup>144</sup> This poem was composed at an even earlier date than the hymn to Hermes, and there is an interesting description of him as the sure Guide through unknown and dangerous country. Aphrodite, who refuses to reveal her identity, must therefore give a plausible account of herself to Anchises. She tells him that she is a mortal princess, daughter of a Phrygian king, and destined by the gods to be his bride. Here is her description of her journey to Mt. Ida:

And now the Slayer of Argus with the golden wand has caught me up from the dance of huntress Artemis, her with the golden arrows. For there were many of us, nymphs and marriageable maidens, playing together; and an innumerable company encircled us: from these the Slayer of Argus with the golden wand rapt me away. He carried me over many fields of mortal men and over much land untilled and unpossessed, where savage wild beasts roam through shady coombes, until I thought never again to touch the life-giving earth with my feet.

Many genuine mortals had to make journeys fraught with such perils and they looked to Hermes as their guardian as well as their guide on the way. That is why his protectiveness is so strongly emphasized by Homer. It is an aspect which the god never lost throughout the many centuries when his cult was vital, and it is the ultimate explanation of all those qualities in his later character which can be called fine.

JACQUELINE CHITTENDEN

CAMBRIDGE

<sup>144</sup> 117 ff. This is Evelyn-White's translation.



# THE DEMES OF ERETRIA

(PLATE XXII)

DURING the greater part of classical antiquity Eretria was the most important city of Euboea,<sup>1</sup> and for a considerable period she was the capital of a territory which comprised the whole southern half of the island except for the small plain of Karystos at its tip.<sup>2</sup> There is a considerable number of inscriptions which list the names of Eretrians of the late fourth and early third centuries B.C. Why they were set up is usually not clear, but it is interesting in any case to know the names of about 3,000 nearly contemporary Eretrians, and for our present purpose it is fortunate that at Eretria, as at Athens, the name of his deme was part of the formal style of the citizen.

Some fifty of the Eretrian demes are known by name (often only in an abbreviated form); there were doubtless more of them,—indeed our knowledge of several depends on a single inscription, and the last important citizen-list to be found provided two new deme-names,—but it seems probable that the names of all the larger ones are among those that have come down to us. No study of the problems connected with these demes has appeared since Ziebarth, who edited the Euboean fascicle<sup>3</sup> of *I.G.*, XII, devoted about two pages of his *Notae* to a collection of what was then known of them, and to a discussion of their location. The new inscriptions published in the *Supplement* to *I.G.*, XII, and a new interpretation of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, make it worth while to re-examine the whole question.<sup>4</sup>

The demes, with the approximate number of citizens known from each, and the number of men from each to appear in the longer citizen-lists, are set forth in the following table.

<sup>1</sup> Chalkis has generally been considered the more important of the two cities (e. g., by Strabo, 446 ff.). This is not the place to consider the question in detail, especially where it concerns the problematical 8th and 7th centuries, but it may be pointed out in passing that Eretria's territory was probably larger (certainly more small towns and villages were dependent on her than on Chalkis), her sixth century coins are more numerous, she paid a larger tribute to Athens after 425 B.C., and it is clear from the numismatic evidence that she was the leading state in the Euboean League which lasted intermittently from 411/10 B.C. until Roman times. Chalkis suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Athenians in 506 B.C., and was subsequently occupied by a large cleruchy; her importance as one of the "fetters of Greece" in Macedonian and Roman times was primarily strategic—like that of Acrocorinth. For views at Eretria see Plate XXII.

<sup>2</sup> The extent of Eretrian territory, at least during the fifty years on either side of 300 B.C., is fortunately fairly clear. To the south Styra belonged to Eretria (the theory that the deme of this name was homonymous with but distinct from the town is rejected below under Στύρα); so did Zarex, Dystos, Tamynai, Grynchai, and Mt. Kotylaion, the position of all of which is fairly accurately known (for detailed discussion see below under the names of these demes). What is in doubt is how far north and west Eretria's territory extended—whether or not, in short, it included Kyme, and whether it reached the River Lelas. The answer must probably wait on future excavation.

<sup>3</sup> Fascicle 9, published in 1916; the *Supplement* to *I.G.*, XII, which appeared in 1939, contains no further topographical discussion.

<sup>4</sup> A preliminary draft of this paper was read to the Archaeological Institute at its annual meeting in December, 1941.

## TABLE OF THE ERETRIAN DEMES

Name <sup>a</sup>	Number of known demesmen	I.G., XII, 9 numbers and approximate dates of the larger citizen-lists <sup>b</sup>							Other inscriptions in which the deme appears
		191 330-10	241 320-08	Supp. 555 304-00	245 ± 300	244 c. 280	246 280-75	249 280-75	
Αίγαλ.	35+....	1.....2? <sup>c</sup>	.....	.....	.....	.....	30.....	.....	241 (1), 243 (2), I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 230. <sup>d</sup>
ἐξ Αίγλεφείρης	8.....	3.....	.....	.....	.....	1.....	.....	4.....	For 249 B 220-240, see p. 134.
Ἀλιφῆθεν	1.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	532 (1).
Ἀμάρυθος	9.....	.....	.....	.....	1.....	.....	.....	.....	247 (8), 188, I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 230.
ἐξ Ἀσ.	23+....	1.....12.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.....	.....	240 (1), 242 (6+).
Ἀφαρεῦθεν	149+....	13+....	2.....	.....	.....	.....	127.....	.....	210 (1), 243 (6).

<sup>b</sup> These seven lists carry the names of about 2,300 Eretrians; the largest is 245 (about 860 names), the smallest are 241 and 244 (each about 60 names).

The most firmly datable of them is 245. The lettering of this inscription suggests a date about 300 B.C. (See Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1911, pl. 2. Ziebarth would date it a few years later: "*saec. iii ineuntis*"). The orator of the proxeny decree I.G., XII, 9, 200, Ἀρχέλαος Π[ηξίμαχον Οἰνόηθε?] is probably the Ἀρχέλαος Πηξίμαχον Οἶνο of 245 A 49 (see note on Οἶνο. below): the proxeny decree is dated by its letter forms to about 300 B.C. (so Ziebarth—I have no squeeze or photograph). The orator of the proxeny decree I.G., XII, 9, 218, which also may be dated by its letter forms to about 300 B.C. (Ziebarth says "*prioris partis saec. iii*," but it is clear from my squeezes that the lettering is very similar to that of I.G., XII, 9, 210 which certainly dates in or very near 302/1 B.C.), is Αἰσχινάδης Γοργίωνος who also appears in 245 A 278. The polemarch Ἰθαγένης Αἰσχύλων of I.G., XII, 9, 192, which is firmly dated to 308/7 B.C., reappears in 245 B 414. Ἀρίσταρχος Τόλλων Zap. (245 B 201) is probably the father of the ephebe Τόλλος Ἀριστάρχων Δυσ. of 240 line 5—an inscription firmly dated to 308-304 B.C.—in spite of the different demotic (whether this is a mistake of the stone-cutter's or whether, more probably, there is some other explanation: there are about 11 reappearances of the same name in different demes at Eretria, and some 25 instances of reversed names—"father and son"—in different demes as against about 120 cases of "father and son" in the same deme). Finally, 245 cannot be much later than 241, which Ziebarth dates "*saec. iv exeuntis*," for the two inscriptions have 5 coincidences (same name, father's name, and deme) and either two or three examples of reversed names—i. e., sons in 245 of soldiers who appear in 241; 245, then, must date very closely ± 300 B.C.

I.G., XII, Supp. 555, a list of ephebes, must be a little earlier, for two of the ephebes reappear as men in 245 which also contains six of their fathers. 241 is probably earlier still—"saec. iv exeuntis": Ziebarth.

191 may be dated ± 320 B.C. on its lettering, but should not be much earlier than 240 (308-304 B.C.) because Μαντίδης Δυσ. (191 B 18) and Ἀμφαλκος Δυσ. (191 B 32) are probably the Μαντίδης Χορονίκων Δυσ. and Ἀμφαλκος Ἡφαιστιώνος Δυσ. of 240, lines 17 and 18: there are no other occurrences at Eretria of these two unusual names. (191 has usually been dated—by Stavropoulos, Holleaux, Bechtel, etc.—after the Lamian War, but on the erroneous theory that Styra did not until then belong to Eretria: see below under Στύρα.)

TABLE OF THE ERETRIAN DEMES—(*Continued*)

Name	Number of demesmen	191 330-10	241 320-08	Supp. 555 304-00	245 ± 300	244 c. 280	246 280-75	249 280-75	Other inscriptions in which the deme appears
Βουδιόθεν	c. 111.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	7+.....	—.....	101.....	240 (1?), <sup>9</sup> 248 (2 or 3).
Γρύγχαι	c. 85.....	5.....	1?.....	—.....	2.....	1.....	46.....	25-7 <sup>10</sup> .....	213 (1?), <sup>11</sup> 224 (1?), 243 (2), 247 (1).
Δισμαρόθεν	109.....	—.....	1?.....	20.....	86.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	
Δύστος	c. 71.....	c. 63.....	3.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	240 (3+).
Έγε.	1.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Έγω.	34.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	32.....	—.....	243 (1). <sup>12</sup>
έξ Ένι.	17.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	16.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	
έξ Έσχ.	7.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	5.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Ζάρηξ	288.....	37.....	3.....	24.....	224.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	I.G., II <sup>2</sup> , 230 (1-2).
Ίστίαια	149.....	13.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	11.....	2.....	120.....	214 (1), 240 (1).
Καρκινούσιοι	2.....	—.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Κοτύλαιον	15.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	15.....	
ἀπὸ Κυλ.	59.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	57.....	—.....	240 (1).
Κωμαιεῖς	60.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	58.....	
Λάκεθεν	117(97?)	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	8.....	1.....	102(82?)	240 (2), 248 (3-5).

246 and 249 belong about a generation before the time, between 245 B.C. and 236 B.C., when Σωγένης Δημονόμου Έρετριεύς and Στήσαρχος Εὐφιλήτου Έρετριεύς were proxenoi of the Aitolians (see *I.G.*, IX<sup>2</sup>, I, 1, 25, lines 15 and 19), for the fathers of these men appear in 246 B 61 and 249 B 419. 246 must be earlier than *ca.* 272 when Menedemos (246 B 66) left Eretria (see K. von Fritz on "Menedemos" in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XV, 788-794). Πεδιεύς Οἰνάργον ἀπὸ Κυ. (246 A 87) is probably the grandson of the man of the same name in 241 line 92. Χαυρίδημος Ἀντιφίλου Πετρ. (246 B 120) is undoubtedly the ephebe of 240 line 6 (308-304 B.C.). Altogether the most suitable date for 246 appears to be 280-75 B.C. In 249 the ephebe Κτυρίας Κτήσωνος (B 80) has the same name as the soldier of 241 line 47 who is probably his grandfather; Κλεοχάρης Κλέωνος Ταμ. (249 B 260) is probably the son of Κλέων Κλεοχά[ρον Ταμ.] 241 line 94, while Ὀνήριμος Ἀμυνάνδρον Βουδ. of 249 B 167 must somehow be the same man as the ephebe Ὀνήριμος Ἀμυνάνδρον Λακ. of 240 line 24, in spite of the difference in the demotics (see also note 51). Thus we arrive at similar dates for 249 and 246. 244 has probable coincidences with both 245 and 249; from the character of the script it is nearer in date to the latter.

<sup>9</sup> Where the actual name is known it is given; otherwise the demotic form is given, either in full or in the longest abbreviation found.

<sup>7</sup> See note on *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, line 79 (below, p. 123).

<sup>8</sup> See note on Αἰγαλ[ῆθεν?] below, p. 133.

<sup>9</sup> See note on Βουδιόθεν below, p. 134.

<sup>10</sup> See note on Παρθένιον below, p. 145.

<sup>11</sup> See note on Γρύγχαι below, p. 135.

<sup>12</sup> See note 62.



TABLE OF THE ERETRIAN DEMES—(*Continued*)

Name	Number of known demesmen	191 330-10	241 320-08	Supp. 555 304-00	245 ± 300	244 c. 280	246 280-75	249 280-75	Other inscriptions in which the deme appears
Μινθουντόθεν	30.....	9.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	5.....	—.....	13.....	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 230 (1).
ἐγ Μν.	8.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	7.....	—.....	
ἐγ Νε.	78.....	1.....	2.....	—.....	73.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	240 (1).
Ξενιαδῶν	2.....	—.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Οἶνο.	56.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	55.....	—.....	1?.....	—.....	200 (1).
Οἶχα.	5.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	3.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Πανα.	12.....	8.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	240 (1), 247 (3).
Πεν.	1.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Πεο.	1.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Περαεῖς	51.....	—.....	1-2.....	—.....	22.....	1.....	11.....	12.....	243 (1), 247 (3). <sup>13</sup>
Πετρη.	51.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	49.....	—.....	240 (1).
ἐκ Πλα.	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	
Πτέχαι	5.....	2.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	221 (1).
Ῥαφιεῦθεν	69.....	—.....	1.....	2.....	66.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Σπλη.	9.....	1?.....	8.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 230 (1?).
Στύρα	199.....	70.....	6.....	—.....	85.....	1.....	32.....	—.....	247 (4), <i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 230 (1).
Τάμυναι	101.....	—.....	3.....	—.....	—.....	10.....	—.....	83.....	248 (4), 240 (1).
Τεμ.	1.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Τηλειδῶν (ἐκ Τη.)	41.....	—.....	1.....	1.....	39.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	218 (1—without demotic).
Φαλλάριοι	96.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	94.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	
Φηγοεῖς	11.....	7.....	—.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	247 (2).
ἐκ Φηραι.	3.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	240 (1).
Φλιεῖς	96.....	—.....	—.....	16.....	67.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	250 (1).
Χοίρεαι	4.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	222 (1), 240 (1), <i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 230 (1).
ἐκ Χντ.	17.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	14.....	—.....	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 230 (1).
ἐξ Ὀου.	3.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	243 (1).
Ὀρωπός	97.....	—.....	3.....	—.....	—.....	9.....	1.....	77.....	248 (7).
TOTALS	2,398	240	62	68	844	50	422	610	about 100

<sup>13</sup> In *I.G.*, XII, 9, 247, line 2 appears as Θεόδοτος [Γ]νά[θ]ωνο[ς Περα.]. The last pair of brackets here is presumably a slip—Kourouniotes does not print them (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1911, p. 21, where the line is unfortunately not legible in his photograph), and it would not have been possible to restore the demotic if the end of the line had been completely missing.

## THE CERTAIN DEMES

The demes the position of which is established beyond reasonable doubt by modern survivals of both names and remains are only three in number—Dystos, Zarex, and Styra. Five more may, however, be located with practical certainty:

Amarynthos, where there was a great Eretrian temple of Artemis, was certainly in the Eretrian plain a few miles east of the city, although the exact position is in doubt.

Grynychai may be placed with some assurance on the eastern promontory of the Ἐρετρική.

Kotylaion must have been on the slopes of Mt. Kotylaion the position of which is known from Aeschines, III, 86.

Tamynai is certainly to be placed in the neighborhood of Aliveri and Aulonari.

Ptechai is known from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 to have contained the great marsh immediately east of Eretria.

For detailed discussion of the position of these demes, see the last section of this paper.

## THE FIVE DISTRICTS

*I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 is a list of soldiers inscribed late in the fourth century, with the deme to which each man belonged recorded after his name;<sup>14</sup> it is important for

<sup>14</sup> There is a number of third-century Boeotian inscriptions, lists of hoplites, peltaphoroi, etc., which it is interesting to compare with this Eretrian list: they are perhaps most conveniently available in Michel, *Recueil d'insc. gr.*, nos. 621-639.

A much closer parallel to *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 is the Corinthian inscription first published by Meritt (*Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 11), and recently discussed by Dow (*Harv. St. in Cl. Phil.*, LIII, 1942, pp. 89-106). Like 241 this is a list of names divided into groups which are each subdivided into two sections, and as in 241 spaces are left between the groups—in this inscription certainly, and in 241 probably, for later additions. The rubrics in the Corinthian inscription were, as Dow has shown, ΣΙ-E, ΣΙ-II; ΔΕ-E, ΔΕ-II; ΚΥ-E, ΚΥ-II. Whether ΣΙ, ΔΕ, and ΚΥ are local headings (on the Eretrian analogy) or abbreviations of tribal names (as Dow maintains, but see his footnote 16 where he mentions as a possibility that they stand for Λέ(χαιον), Σι(δοῦς) and Κυ(-?)), it seems reasonable to suppose that E and II stand for heavy and light-armed troops, perhaps for ἐπίλεκτοι and πελτασταί. (There were ἐπίλεκτοι at Athens in the late 4th and 3rd centuries, organized by tribes and commanded by taxiarchs—see *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, VIII, 1923, pp. 89-96 and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 5. The 300 ἐπίλεκτοι of Phlious who defended the city against Agesilaos in 379 may have been chosen for the occasion; but ἐπίλεκτοι was the regular name of the elite troops of the Achaean League—3,000 foot and 300 horse according to Polybios, II, 65, 3—who dedicated a statue of their commander at Olympia in the third century—*Inscr. von Olympia* 297. Ἐπίλεκτοι are known also in Boeotia—these are discussed by Pappadakis in *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, VIII, 1923, p. 234—and the Argive and Elean λογάδες and the Arkadian ἐπάρτοι are similar bodies under slightly different names: Busolt has collected the references in *Gr. Staatskunde*, 3rd ed., p. 582, note 2. Corinth may well have given the name to her best troops.)

our present purpose because it divides the demes into groups which are obviously geographical. Unfortunately the stele is broken at the bottom, and the letters are in many places illegible. The stone has been exposed to the weather for half a century since Kourouniotes worked on it, and it is accordingly not surprising that in a few places—notably in the central part of the third column of names—it appears to have become somewhat less legible than it was in 1897. In a few other places it has been possible to correct Ziebarth's readings. It was necessary in any case to renumber the lines as Ziebarth inadvertently omitted to count his own first line, and somewhat anomalously numbered the heading in column 3; it also seemed worth while in this case to number blank lines, thus indicating the amount of space left uninscribed.

The following text is based on two squeezes which Professor Homer Thompson made for me in Eretria on June 16, 1946.

## I.G., XII, 9, 241

1	[----- ± 29 -----] ΟΥΤ[--- 5 ---]	
2	[----- ± 23 -----] ΚΑΙ ΣΤΝΑΡΧΩΝ νυ]	
	[----- 'Οπλίται]	39 [-----]
	[-----]	[-----]σ.
5	[-----]	[-----] Δυσ.
	[-----]	[-----]σ]τράτου Στ.
	[-----]	[-----]ρχου Στυ.
	[-----]	[-----]αρχίδου Στυ.
	[-----]	45 [-----]ος Πολυνέκτου Μιν.
10	[-----]	[-----]ρος Φιλάρχου Μινθο.
	[-----]	[Μ]έκυλος Ὑπεροχίδου Ἰστι.
	[-----]	Φανόκριτος Ἀριστοξένου Ζα.
	[-----]	Εὐφύμιος Δημίππου Ζαρη.
	[-----] ξέ 'Ασ.	50 Ἀρχιππος Κλεοτίμου Δυσ.
15	[-----]ον Δισ.	Δεξιθεος Δεξιμένου Στυ.
	[-----]νίωνος ἐξ 'Ασ.	vacat
	[-----]ς Τεισικράτου ἐξ 'Ασ.	vacat
	[--- 5 or 6 --- Γ]νάθωνος ἐξ 'Ασ.	Ψιλοί
	[4 or 5]νετος Πυθίππου ἐξ 'Ασ.	55 Ἰερώνυμος Ἀρχεβίου Δυσ.
20	[Δι]οφάνης Τιμοξένου ἐξ ['Α]σ.	[---]μνος Στυρο.
	Ἀριστοτέλης Ἐπιχαρμίδου ἐξ ['Ε]σ.	Εὐ[.]στρατος [Δ]ημοτέλ[ου ---]
	Ἀπολλόδωρος Δυρανίου ἐκ Χν.	Ἐπιγένης Ἀντικρίτου Ζαρ.
	Ἀθήμαχος Κράτωνος ἐξ 'Ασ.	Καλλικράτης Πειθαρχ([---])
	[---]λης Ἡρακλείδου ἐξ 'Ασ.	60 Πολύωρος Μολέου Ἰστι.
25	Μν[ησί]στρατος Ἡρακλείδου ἐξ 'Ασ.	vacat
	Ἀνδροκλῆς Ἀρίστωνος ἐξ 'Ασ.	vacat
	Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀρίστωνος ἐξ 'Ασ.	Μεσοχώρου Ὀπλίται
	Ἀπήμεντος Πρωτίωνος ἐξ 'Ασ.	Ἀμφιγένης Ἀμφιδήμου Σπλ.
	vacat	65 Μητρόδωρος Ἀριστομάχου Σπ.
30	vacat	Εὐγέλτων Θεοδότου Πτε.
	vacat	Εὐετηρίδης Παραμόνου Πτ.
		78 Σώστρατος Σωκλέ[ους ---]
		Εὐέλθων Τιμησί[ου ---]
		80 Θεόξενος Δημοστράτου Αἰ[γ.]
		Χαιριώνδης Ἀρι[στ]είδου Ταμν
		Ἀντίπατρος Ἡρακλείδου Ἰ[-]
		Δύρ[ι]σκος Αὔγων[ο]ς Ραφ.
		Ἰπποκύδης Δημονίκου Ὠ[ρω.]
		85 vacat
		vacat
		Ψιλοί
		Κλέανδρος Κλεω[δ]ώρου Τα.
		Ἐχε[κράτη]ς Νανκράτου Ὠρω.
		90 [Κωρ.γας Φιλ.νίχου] Ὠρω.
		Χ[αιρέστρατος Χα ---]
		[.εδιεύ]ς Οἰ[ναργ ---]
		Ἀριστ[ό]λοχος[ς Ἀρι ---]
		[Κλέων Κλ]ερχα[---]
		95 [Ἀρχηγός] Ἀ[ρ]χε[φι ---]
		[Πολυξ.νης Πολυ ---]
		[Π]όλ[υ]ς [Τι]μοχάρου Π[-]
		[Π. .... κο. .... ου ---]
		[Φι. .... τ ---]
		100 [Α ---]
		[---]
		[--- ± 6 ---]ς Θάρρωνος [---]
		[---]ρος ἐχ[---]
		vacat
		105 vacat
		vacat

If this suggestion is acceptable, and the inscription is really closely similar to 241, its analogy makes it probable that the blank spaces in 241 were left for the inscription of additional names. It is curious that more space should have been left for additions to District I than to the others—perhaps the stonecutter discovered after finishing column I that he must leave smaller blanks if he was to get all the names on the stone.





occupied in the first column by about 3 more *ψιλοί*, 6 empty spaces, a heading, and about 20 hoplites. In the second column by approximately 6 more hoplites of Mesochoron, two empty spaces, a heading, some 5 *ψιλοί*, two more empty spaces, a heading for District IV, and about 13 hoplites. At the end of column three there would be room for about 17 more hoplites, two spaces, a heading, and about 10 *ψιλοί*. The numbers in each district would then be as follows:

District I—	25 hoplites and <i>ca.</i>	9 <i>ψιλοί</i>
“ II— <i>ca.</i>	33	“ “ 6 “
“ III— <i>ca.</i>	20	“ “ <i>ca.</i> 5 “
“ IV— <i>ca.</i>	20	“ “ 16 “
“ V— <i>ca.</i>	26	“ “ <i>ca.</i> 10 “

In short, if we assume an addition of about 30 lines (which would occupy some 37 cm.), the five districts will have roughly similar numbers of heavy and light-armed representatives, and the stele will be about 100 cm. high (52 cm. + 37 cm. + an uninscribed space at the bottom) which gives the satisfactory ratio of 1:4½:11. If we assume more lines, the number of hoplites in District II becomes disproportionately large, if fewer, the numbers of the Mesochoron district and of the hoplites of District IV become improbably small. Finally, a restoration with eight districts would require an addition of at least 60 lines and a stele height of some 140 cm. with a ratio of roughly 1:15½, which would be surprising. But the real objection to supposing eight districts is that the known demes of the five districts preserved on the stone seem to cover the *Ἑρετρική* adequately. It may be taken as certain, then, that roughly 30 lines are missing and that there were five districts.<sup>16</sup> These five districts, in the order in which they appear in the inscription, with the demes of the men who appear in each, are as follows:

- I [Name]: ἐξ Ἀσ., Δισ., ἐξ Ἑσ., ἐκ Χντ.
- II [Name]: Δυσ., Ζαρ., Ἰστυ., Μινθ., Στυρ.
- III Mesochoron: Ἀφαρ., Πτε., Σπλη.
- IV [Name]: Αἰγ., Παφ., Ταμ., Ὀρω., Π[ερ?], [ἀπὸ Κυ.]
- V [Name]: Οἰχα., ἐγ Ν., ἐκ [Τη.].

Some of the readings and restorations printed above in the text of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 require comment:

<sup>16</sup> Ziebarth thought that there were only four, because he was misled by his own restoration of line 94—Κλέων Κλεοχάρ[ου Ἀφαρ.] on which he remarks “*Demotic. suppl. coll.* 246 B 112 Κλέαξ Κλεοχάρου Ἀφαρ.” Now Ἀφαρ. occurs twice among the Μεσοχώρον *ὀπλῖται* at the bottom of col. 2, but the group at the top of col. 3 has, apart from this restoration (and one other: see note on line 91), no deme coincidence with the Mesochoron group, and if it were included in the Mesochoron group, that list would be very much longer than any of the others. The name is better restored (if the reading can be trusted) as Κλέων Κλεοχάρ[ου Ταμ.] comparing 249 B 260 Κλεοχάρης Κλέωνος Ταμ. who was probably this man’s son. There are two other certain Ταμ.’s in group IV.

Line 2. The supplement  $\sigma] would be possible if the last five letters took slightly less space (*circ.* 5 cm.) than the preceding five (which occupy almost 5.5 cm.). But there is no sign of crowding—chi is farther from rho than rho from alpha. Ziebarth, in *I.G.*, XII, *Suppl.*, suggests  $[\pi\rho\acute{o}\beta]ov[\lambda\omicron\varsigma -- \kappa\alpha\iota -- \sigma]\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi[ov]$ , comparing *I.G.*, XII, 9, 212, 224.$

Line 15. As Kourouniotes says in his original publication of the inscription ( $\epsilon^{\phi}$ .  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi$ , 1897, p. 148),  $\tau\omicron$  δημοτικὸν  $\Delta\sigma$ . εἶνε βέβαιον.

Line 20. The amount of preserved and apparently uninscribed surface favors the restoration  $[\acute{\alpha}]\sigma$ . rather than  $[\epsilon]\sigma$ .

Line 21. The supplement  $\epsilon\xi$   $[\epsilon\sigma]$  which Ziebarth does not incorporate into his text, appears in his index *s.v.*  $\epsilon\pi\iota\chi\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ ; it is probably based on line 36—there are several pairs of brothers in this inscription—and is probably right.

Line 37. These letters must form part of an otherwise unknown demotic. The fact that no letter follows  $\eta$ , although there is room for several, rules out the supplement  $[- --- \epsilon\xi \text{A}\acute{\gamma}\lambda\epsilon\phi\epsilon]\acute{\iota}\rho\eta(\varsigma)$ .

Line 42. The  $\nu$  was omitted from the abbreviation because of lack of space.

Line 44. Ziebarth read EIΘ at the beginning of this line; the stone may have been injured at the break here since he worked on it, for no trace of the letters appears on my squeezes.

Line 79. The only other Eretrian Euelthon is from  $\text{A}\acute{\gamma}$ . No other Eretrian Timesias is known.

Line 80. The deme abbreviation begins  $\text{A}\acute{\iota}$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\pi$ ; the traces on my squeezes would be taken to favor  $\pi$ , but as there is no room on the stone for  $\acute{\alpha}\pi[\delta \text{Kv.}]$ ,  $\text{A}\acute{\iota}[\gamma.]$  is probably right.

Line 82. The traces on my squeezes of the first letter of the deme abbreviation look more like iota or eta, but these are improbable on general grounds. If, as seems probable, the letter was gamma or pi, the horizontal hasta was unusually shallow. Gamma is less likely than pi, for Grynchai (the only known deme

beginning with gamma) appears in a context which suggests District II in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 B—see p. 126 below.

Lines 89 to 100. For the text of these twelve lines I have printed Ziebarth's readings within the brackets and relegated restoration to the notes. Ziebarth's readings may well be correct even where it is now impossible to check them, for here where the surface is worst it is fairly clear that there has been deterioration in the last thirty years or so. Professor Homer Thompson, writing from Athens on June 16, 1946, says of this inscription, "The marble has gone in a curious way; part of the surface is in practically perfect condition, much of it has utterly gone to below letter depth."

Line 91. Although he does not print it in his text, in his notes Ziebarth suggests the supplement  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \chi\alpha[\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\rho.]$ , comparing 246 B 65. This supplement (like his supplement for line 94 which we have already discussed in note 16) would be awkward for our theory that the districts represented at the bottom of column 2 and at the top of column 3 are different. But Ziebarth might as well have restored  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \chi\alpha[\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu \Phi\alpha\lambda.]$  (cf. 245 B 317), or  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \chi\alpha[\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\iota}\omega \Delta\alpha\kappa.]$  (cf. 249 B 133), or  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \chi\alpha[\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu \epsilon\xi \Omega.]$  (cf. 246 A 95).

Line 92. Ziebarth restores on the analogy of 246 A 87:  $\Pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma \text{O}\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\delta \text{Kv.}$  As both names are rare at Eretria (Pedieus does not occur otherwise), the supplement seems reasonably certain—if the reading can be trusted—even though 246 is thirty-five or forty years later in date than 241. The two men could, perhaps, be grandfather and grandson.

Line 93. The deme in this line should not be restored as  $\epsilon\kappa \text{T}\eta$ . on the basis of 245 B 11:  $\Theta\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\chi\omicron\nu \epsilon\kappa \text{T}\eta$ . (the only other Eretrian Aristolochos) in view of the fact that  $\epsilon\kappa \text{T}\eta$ . was almost certainly one of the demes of District V.

Line 94. See note 16.

Line 96. Cf. 245 A 301:  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu \Pi\epsilon\rho$ . (the same name exactly is borne by



an ephebe from Δισμ.—*I.G.*, XII, *Suppl.*, 555, line 163—but Δισ. is in District I).

Line 97. Περ., or Περρ. (Πτεχ., and probably Πανα. too, are in Mesochoron).

Line 107. Ziebarth reads Δαρασί[ου] ὀπλῖται, and this may be right—what I have printed in the text is the most I can make out from my squeezes. I should be inclined to accept Ziebarth's reading if it were not for the fact that there appears to be too much space between iota and omicron for the supplement [ου].

Line 108. Curiously enough it is almost im-

possible to decide between Ziebarth's reading for the beginning of this line: .ΑΙΠΙΔΗ and the one I have printed in which Ziebarth's IP is read as Π and his ΔΗ is read as Μ. He has, however, at least one letter too few for the space available between Μ (or ΔΗ) and κοκρατου (the first kappa seems fairly clear).

Line 110. The same man, apparently, recurs in 245 B 168.

Line 114. This supplement is well defended by Ziebarth in the *Addenda Ultima* to *I.G.*, XII, 9.

There is another inscription which perhaps gives us the name of District IV. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 189—the interesting decree, to be dated about 340 B.C. (Wilhelm. *Ἐφ.* Ἀρχ., 1904, 89 f.), which establishes the Eretrian *Artemiria*—contains in lines 5 and 6 the statement that the games are to be established *τεῖ Μεταξὺ καὶ τεῖ Φυλακεῖ*. These must be districts of the *Ἐρετρικὴ*,<sup>17</sup> and Ziebarth is surely right in suggesting<sup>18</sup> that *Μεταξύ* and *Μεσόχωρον* are either next to each other or the same district. One of the two districts would obviously be the one which contained the great shrine of Artemis at Amarynthos where the games in question were to be held and the city of Eretria itself; the other is presumably the neighboring district which contained the important town of Tamynai. Amarynthos, where the games were held, must have been almost on the boundary of these two districts, which are then, probably, III Mesochoron (or Metaxy) and IV Phylake.<sup>19</sup>

One further inscription may throw some light on the distribution of the demes among the districts. This is *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191, the agreement between Eretria and a certain Chairephanes who was to drain the great marsh just east of the city. The text of the agreement, which is clearly almost complete, occupies the front of the preserved portion of the stele, while the back and one side are occupied by a long list of names of citizens.<sup>20</sup> It is noteworthy that the men listed on the back of the stele (B)

<sup>17</sup> Ziehen did not think so. He says (*Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, 254): —quo spectent casus dativi *τεῖ Μεταξὺ καὶ τεῖ Φυλακεῖ* obscurum est. Locos dici putat editor, sed locorum definitiones nudo dativo poni non oportebat; dies potius significari putaverim coll. praesertim proximo dativo *τεῖ πρὸ τῶν Ἀρτεμιρίων* qui ad diem Artemisiis superiorem non referri non potest, nec diebus festis Artemisiorum singulis sua fuisse nomina improbable, at talia qualia illa fuisse nemo facile credet. This last point seems more telling than his difficulty about the dative.

<sup>18</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 163 fin.

<sup>19</sup> It may conceivably be a curious survival that a hill southeast of Aliveri is today, or was until recently, called Phylake. So Papabasileiou in *Ἐφ.* Ἀρχ., 1905, pp. 18 and 25. Papabasileiou's "hill" becomes a "region" in Ziebarth's publication of the inscription—*I.G.*, XII, 9, 103.

<sup>20</sup> It is improbable that the list originally contained the names of *all* the citizens of Eretria, as Ziebarth supposes. Eustratiades' restoration of lines 42-3 (in *Ἐφ.* Ἀρχ., 1869, pp. 317-32; accepted by Ziebarth), — τοὺς πο[λίτας π]άντας, certainly gives one letter too many in line 43 (and

come on the whole from different demes from those on the side (C). The occurrences of deme names are as follows:

B		C <sup>21</sup>
Στυρ.	— 70 times	Ἀφαρ. — 13-14 times
Δυσ.	— 63 “	Πανα. — 7-8 “
Ζαρ.	— 35 “	Φη. — 6 “
Ἰστι.	— 13 “	Πτεχ. — 2 “
Μινθ.	— 9 “	Ζαρ. — 1 or 2 “
Γρυγ.	— 5 “	Σπλ. — once
ἐξ Αἰγ.	— 3 “	ἐγ Νε. — “

-- τοὺς πολ[ίτας π]άντας would crowd line 42), and in any case seems less likely than some such restoration as --- τοὺς ἀρ[χοὺς π]άντας, for even if the *ca.* 230 preserved names are only a third or a quarter of those originally on the stone, they are still too few to be the whole citizen body of Eretria which, since we know roughly 3,000 names from the late 4th and early 3rd centuries, must have numbered at least 2,000.

<sup>21</sup> As Ziebarth's text of the names above the moulding (the first column of C as he has printed it) pays too little attention to the preserved margins, and is only partially corrected in *I.G.*, XII, *Suppl.*, it seems worth while to give the following improved text based on a squeeze. Readers who wish to study it closely, but have no squeeze, may find Eustratiades' careful drawing ('Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1869, pl. 48, facing p. 348) useful, for the letters are by no means evenly spaced, although most of the later lines apparently contained either 14 or 15. Ziebarth's numbers are unfortunately one too low, for he omitted to count the first line.

	[-3-4-] Η[---ca. 9---]	10	[Κ] λυταρχίδης Ι [ . . ]
	[.] στρατο[---ca. 8---]		[1-2] ο ἐκ Φηραι. Μεγ[ακ]
	μ α χ ο ς [-ca. 7--]		[λῆ]ς Φιλοκλείδ[ου .]
	[X?] οίρη. Δη[-- 6-7 --]		[.] Ιας [ . . Κν. Ὀν ] φ[οκλ]
5	[1-2] νο. ἐγ Νε[-- 5-6 --]		[εί]δης Μεγακλέ[ο(ν)ς ΙΙ]
	[ . . ] ος Εὐπολ[--3-4--]	15	[τ]εχη. Μίργος Ἰπ[πίο(ν)]
	[2-3] η. Εὐκτείδ[ης . . ]		[Δι]σμαρο. Ἀπόλα[ξίς]
	[2-3] Ζαρη. Καλ[λίας]		[Φι]λοξένον Παν[α. νν]
	[Κ] αλλιππίδου Ζ[αρη.]		<i>vacat</i>

This text is still unsatisfactory in one or two places. The rasura in line 13 is shallow but definite: the first two letters in it seem to have been erased individually and rather inadequately (they may have been ΣΚ), and no new letters were cut on top of them; the last four are somewhat crowded. I have no restoration to suggest. The lacuna at the end of line 14 seems clearly too short for four letters, and yet there is hardly room for [Πτ] at the beginning of line 15. Ziebarth's restorations of Κάλ[λιππος] in line 8 (his line 7) and Ἰπ[πωνος] in line 15 (his line 14) are both too long—indeed even Ἰπ[πίου] seems too long: perhaps Υ was omitted, both here and in line 14; it certainly was in lines 5 and 11. It should be mentioned that the restoration in line 9 is uncertain, for the initial letter of the abbreviation may be Σ.

My squeeze suggests no significant changes in the names below the moulding (columns 2 and 3 of C in Ziebarth's text) except that in line 18 (Ziebarth's 17) Φη. seems epigraphically as likely to be right as Φα., and more probable on general grounds, while in line 45 (Ziebarth's 44) the beginning of the first stroke of the Μ of Τεμ is clearly visible—and appears in Eustratiades' drawing.

B (Continued)		C (Continued)	
Χοι.	— once	ἐκ Φη.	— once
Τ[εμ.]	— “ (reading uncertain)	Τεμ.	— “
Παα.	— “ (reading uncertain)	Ἐγε.	— “
		Πεο.	— “
		Πεν.	— “

These two groups are quite distinct except for one (?) misplaced *Zap.*, one *Παα*, and one *Τ[εμ.]* (we should also, as will be seen later, expect to find *Χοι.* with the demes in C rather than with those in B).<sup>22</sup> Of the 7 demes which occur more than once on face B, 6 are known to have been in District II (for ἐξ Αἰγ. is probably, as will be shown, the little island off Styra). All three known demes of District III Mesochoron occur more than once in C. It seems natural to suppose that B was intended to be a list of men from District II, and C of men from District III. If so, was there room originally for lists of men from I, IV, and V? While the stele may, as far as its proportions go, have been little higher than it now is, it would not be outside the limits of normal variation for it to have been 120 cm. high (this would give a ratio of 1 : 7 $\frac{2}{3}$  : 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ ). It is thus quite possible that there was originally some 25 cm. or about 30 lines more text<sup>23</sup>—allowing for an uninscribed space of some 10 cm. at the bottom.<sup>24</sup> Thirty lines of names front and back would about double the number of names recorded in the lines some part of which still remains, and the supposition that an attempt was made to list the citizens by districts (though none was made to put fellow-demesmen together) would make it possible to explain the curious character of the preserved list. (It would still be rather strange that III Mesochoron, instead of I or V, was put on the narrow side surface.) If this explanation is accepted, Γρυνγ.<sup>25</sup> and ἐξ Αἰγ. can be added to the demes of District II, Παα. and Φη. to those of District III. It so happens that the positions of Γρυνγ. and ἐξ Αἰγ. are otherwise known and fit very well with those of Styra, Dystos, and Zarex which are also in District II.

If an attempt is now made to plot the districts on a map, it is seen that the extent of District II is well defined by Grynchai (unless this deme is in District IV), Dystos, Zarex, ἐξ Αἰγ. and Styra, the position of all of which is known. District III contains one deme the site of which is accurately known—Ptechai where the marsh was situated,

<sup>22</sup> The *Xo* of *Χοι.* (B 5) seems clear, and the iota possible, but the traces supposed to be *Τ[εμ.]* and *Παα.* in lines 10 and 12 of side B are uncertain: it is not clear that the *T* of *Τ[εμ.]* is part of a demotic, and the *Παα.* should, at best, be read [*Πα*]*γα*. The surface of the stone is in wretched condition, and according to Eustratiades was not very smooth originally. Working on a good squeeze I have been quite unable to read many of the letters read as certain by Ziebarth who, in his notes, gives further readings of Eustratiades' *quas neque ille neque ego in lapide a. 1908 Athenis denuo collato dispicere potui*.

<sup>23</sup> Lines 35 to 64 (exclusive) of A occupy 25 cm.

<sup>24</sup> About 11 cm. were left uninscribed at the bottom of the large catalogue *I.G.*, XII, 9, 245.

<sup>25</sup> Note *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, line 82, and discussion on p. 123 above.



and its name Mesochoron shows that it was central: it probably covered the Eretrian plain between Olympos and Kotylaion. District IV contains Tamynai the site of which is known; this is sufficient to place IV in the plain east of Kotylaion. District V contains ἐγ Νε. If this deme was near the River Nedon mentioned by Lykophron (*Alex.* 374) as being between Τρύχαντα (= Γρύγγαι) and Dirphys, then the district will be in the northerly plain of the Ἐρετρικὴ,<sup>26</sup> where two comparatively large streams near each other may compete for the name. Finally, in District I, ἐξ Ἑσχ. may perhaps be completed as ἐξ Ἑσχάτης (so Ziebarth in *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 164, line 143) and may have been named as the most distant part of the Eretrian domain. The district may then be placed in the extreme south between Styra and Karystos—a position which fits well with the smallness of its demes (except Διο.). If these guesses—for they are little more—about the position of Districts I and V have hit the truth, it will be seen that the order in which the districts appear in 241 is roughly geographical—from south to north. At least the positions of Districts II, III, and IV are reasonably certain.

### THE SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS

Some 600 sepulchral inscriptions are now known from Eretria and Eretrian territory. It would be natural to expect these to throw light on the position of the demes, either by bearing the names of men whose demes are known, or by actually recording the deme of the deceased; in point of fact they are not particularly helpful. There is only one funerary inscription from Eretria in which a deme is recorded, and it is not very useful for it is the only evidence for the existence of that deme—Ἀλιφῆθεν. Sepulchral inscriptions of Eretrians who may be identified with men known from the citizen-lists, or with their sons or fathers, are disappointingly few: the two most convincing of them would locate Styra for us, if that were necessary. In most of the other cases there is no record of where the stone was found.

The following is a selection of the sepulchral inscriptions which seem most likely to be significant; they will at least show the unsatisfactory character of the evidence.

Ἀφαρ. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 729 reads Πανσίας Ἀθηνοκλέων and was found in the eastern cemetery of Eretria; there is no record of the letter-forms. A Πανσίας Ἀθηνοκλέων Ἀφαρ., who is probably the same man, occurs in 246 A 109: neither name is common at Eretria. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 653—a *pila* in the museum at Eretria—carries the name of Κλεοχάρης Κλέακος who may be the son of Κλέαξ Κλεοχάρων Ἀφαρ. (246 B

112). The grave stele of Agasias, son of Demonomos (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 516), which Wilhelm found in a private house at Eretria, and that of his son (?) Demonomos, son of Agasias (*I.G.*, XII, *Supp.* 548—found near Vatheia), who was proxenos of the Aetolians *ca.* 240 B.C., are of some interest here, for the name Demonomos occurs only twice in the citizen-lists and in both cases belongs to a man whose deme is

<sup>26</sup> See below under “ἀπὸ Κυλ.” for some slight corroboration of the natural assumption that Districts IV and V were contiguous.

'Αφαρ. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 115, the grave stele of an 'Αφαρ. man, is in a private house at Aliveri—no record of where it was found. The name Hermon on a grave stele built into a house at Eretria<sup>27</sup> suggested to Ziebarth relationship to Hermon son of Karterion of 'Αφαρ. (246 A 257), which may be correct; but there is another Hermon known from the citizen-lists—*I.G.*, XII, 9, 245 A 287—and, although his deme is not preserved, 245 is a long list of names which contains no men from 'Αφαρ. Finally, the grave stele of an Apollonios son of Apollodoros was found at Eretria (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 536); there are three known Eretrians of this name, one of them from 'Αφαρ. None of these instances of 'Αφαρ. burials has any real probative value, but the first two at least may give us some slight reason to suppose that this largest of the Mesochoron demes was either near Eretria or included all or part of the city itself.

*Zap.* *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*, 531 is an additional indication that the deme *Zap.* was near the modern Zarka (see below under "Ζάρηξ").

*Tam.* *I.G.*, XII, 9, 133 should be read [*Ἀν*]-*δρωφέ*[*λης*] (see *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*); it was found near Aulonari. This rare name is borne by five<sup>28</sup> Eretrians, four of them from Tamynai. The other is *Ἀνδροσθένης Ἀνδρωφέλου Ἀφαρ.* As this identical name, and an Andropheles son of Androstheneis, both occur in Tamynai, and as there are no other occurrences of Androstheneis at Eretria, it would seem that the 'Αφαρ. is either a mistake or the name of a man who changed his deme.<sup>29</sup> In short, 133 is some reason for supposing that Tamynai should not be placed very far from Aulonari. Other indications point the same way; indeed this inscription is one of several which make it seem better to place Tamynai inland rather than on the coast as Ziebarth does.

It does not seem worth while to mention any of the other sepulchral inscriptions here, although some are suggestive and a few will be referred to later on. It is much to be hoped that more useful ones will be found or excavated in the future.

### THE DISTRIBUTION OF *ἵππος* NAMES AT ERETRIA

Bechtel long ago called attention in a brief article<sup>30</sup> to the fact that a particularly large number of Eretrian names use the element *ἵππος* in their construction, and in explanation pertinently quoted a well-known passage in Aristotle's *Politics*.<sup>31</sup> He also

<sup>27</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 9, 606; no. 356, now in the museum at Eretria, is a heavy *pila* carrying the same name.

<sup>28</sup> While five names (name plus father's name) occur in which Andropheles is an element, it is conceivable that there were only two men called Andropheles—thus the three men whose father's name was Andropheles could be brothers, and their father could be one of the other two men called Andropheles. But there may have been three or four or five different men of the name. This difficulty frequently arises; it seems best to assume that such homonymous individuals are distinct unless there is reason to suppose them identical.

<sup>29</sup> This latter explanation is more likely, for there are no men from Tamynai in the list in which he occurs.

<sup>30</sup> "Das Wort *ἵππος* in den Eretrischen Personennamen," *Hermes*, 35, 1900, pp. 326-331.

<sup>31</sup> *Politics*, IV, 3, 1289 b, 36: *διόπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων ὅσαι πόλεις ἐν τοῖς ἵπποις ἡ δύναμις ἦν, ὀλιγαρχίαι παρὰ τούτοις ἦσαν. ἔχρωντο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἵπποις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας, οἷον Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς καὶ Μάγνητες οἱ ἐπὶ Μαϊάνδρῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν.*

called attention to the rarity of such names on the "Styrian tablets." Some 464 of these lead tablets, containing about 360 different names, have been found, the great majority of them—about 430—in Styra itself. They appear to date from the fifth century, and although their purpose is uncertain they were probably "publico cuidam usui destinatae."<sup>32</sup> The names are many of them peculiar, no doubt because Styra and Karystos were originally Dryopian, not Ionian,<sup>33</sup> and many of them reappear as the names of Styrians, or of men from Ἰοῦτι., Δυστ. or Ζαρ.—i. e., from the southern demes—on the later Eretrian citizen-lists.<sup>34</sup> Now it seems reasonable to suppose that if ἱππος names were extremely common at Eretria and almost unknown at Styra (which was an independent city in the fifth century but had become Eretrian territory by the middle of the fourth), the demes near Eretria will show more ἱππος names and those near Styra fewer. About 190 Eretrians are known whose names contain the element ἱππ-. Limiting our investigation (to reduce the element of chance) to demes from which the names of fifty or more citizens are known, and dividing the number of citizens with ἱππος names by the number of known citizens for each deme (to obtain a ratio for comparison) we may construct the following table:

Deme abbreviation	ἱππος names <sup>35</sup>	known members	figure for comparison
Ἀφαρ.	20	149	013
Βουδ.	9	111	008
Γρυγ.	7	85	008
Δισμ.	5	109	0045
Δυστ.	3	71	004
Ζαρ.	17	288	006
Ἰοῦτι.	3	149	002
ἀπὸ Κυλ.	3	59	005
Κωμ.	4	60	003
Λακ.	24 (22)	117 (97)	020 (022) <sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Ziebarth on no. 56 in *I.G.*, XII, 9. They are not "*tabellae defixionum*."

<sup>33</sup> Herodotos, VIII, 46 and Pausanias, IV, 34, 11. It is also interesting to notice that the tablets are practically unaffected by the inter-vocalic rhotacism which seems to have been characteristic of the contemporary Eretrian dialect. Unfortunately there are too few of these "rhotacised" names—such as Lyrantias, Onerimos, Kterias, *etc.*—to make statistical treatment convincing.

<sup>34</sup> E. g., the name Lysikrates occurs four times on the Styrian tablets and once on an early grave stele found near Styra; its only other occurrence in Euboea is as the father's name of a man whose deme is Στυρ. Similarly, the name Chremylos occurs twice among the Styrian tablets, once on an early inscription at Styra, and once as the name of a man whose deme is Ζαρ., but not otherwise in Euboea.

<sup>35</sup> The figures in this column were obtained by counting the names in the index to *I.G.*, XII, 9 and adding those published in *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*

<sup>36</sup> Λακ. has 117 known members if the 20 names in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 B 221-240 are included, otherwise 97—see below under Λάκεθεν.



Deme abbreviation	ἵππος names	known members	figure for comparison
ἐγ Νε.	5	78	006
Οἶνο.	7	56	013
Περ.	3	51	006
Πετρ.	3	51	006
Φαφ.	4	69	006
Στυρ.	7	199	0035
Ταμ.	6	101	006
Φαλλ.	7	96	007
Φλι.	11	96	0115
᾽Ωρωπ.	13	97	013

From this table it is clear that 006 is, roughly, the mean; it is the figure for 6 demes, 8 have more and 6 have less. The demes with the greatest number of names are Λακ. (020), ᾽Αφαρ. (013), Οἶνο. (013), ᾽Ωρωπ. (013), and Φλι. (012), while those with the fewest are Ἴστυ. (002), Στυρ. (0035), Κωμ. (003), and Δύστος (004). If our argument is sound, Λακ., ᾽Αφαρ., Οἶνο., ᾽Ωρωπ., and Φλι. should be near the city, while Ἴστυ., Στυρ., Κωμ., and Δύστος should be southern. The first part of this conclusion it is difficult to test (except that ᾽Αφαρ. is in III Μεσόχωρον and ᾽Ωρωπ. in IV (Phylake?), but it is satisfactory to notice that of the second group the positions of Styra and Dystos are definitely known and are southern, while of the other two demes there is no evidence for Κωμ., but Ἴστυ. appears in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 in the same district as Styra and Dystos.

It seems a reasonable conclusion that Λακ., Οἶνο., and Φλι. should be placed in Districts III or IV, and Κωμ. in District II or I.

### THE PERSIAN ATTACK ON ERETRIA

Herodotos' account of the Persian landing on the Eretrian coast in 490 B.C. is clear and brief: οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἑρετρικῆς χώρας κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεια, κατασχόντες δὲ εἰς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, ἀντίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι. (VI, 101). These places, however, are mentioned nowhere else in ancient literature—even the lexicographers are silent about them. So to remedy our ignorance Τέμενος was changed to Ταμύνας by Valkenaer and Wesseling, and the emendation has been generally accepted.<sup>37</sup> Αἰγίλεια is generally altered to the more natural-looking Αἰγίλια<sup>38</sup> and then identified with the Αἰγιλίη, itself an emendation, of chapter 107:<sup>39</sup> τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγιλίην (Bechtel; oldest, "Florentine," mss: Αἰγλείην; later,

<sup>37</sup> Except by Stein, who kept the mss. readings both here and in VI, 107.

<sup>38</sup> There is an Attic deme Αἰγιλιά.

<sup>39</sup> Diels in *SB. Ak. Berl.*, 1908, p. 1042, followed by Ziebarth in *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 164, line 100.

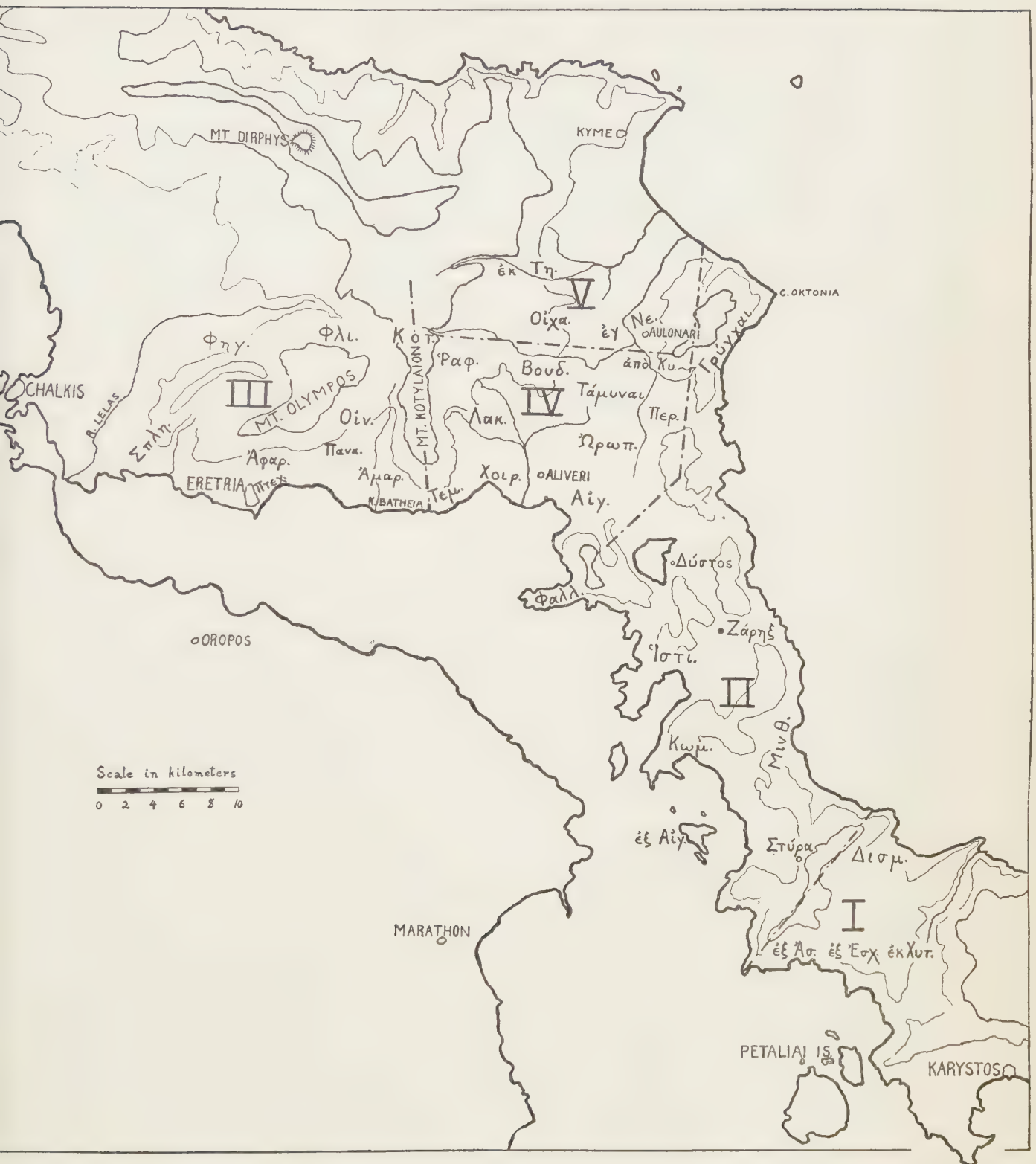


FIG. 1. MAP OF THE ERETRIAN DEMES

The Districts are numbered in the order in which they appear in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241. The position of the demes within the Districts is in most cases not accurately known.

“Roman,” mss: Αἰγίλειαν). These emendations have the disadvantage of making the Persian operations very hard to understand—Tamynai was probably inland rather than on the coast<sup>40</sup> and the island of the Styrians in the narrows of the Euboean strait is not only an island, but is separated from Eretria by some 25 miles of water, or, if one crosses to the nearby mainland, by some 35 miles of rough country.

Now if the unemended names—Τέμενος, Χοίρειαι, Αἰγίλεια and Αἰγλείη are compared with the list of Eretrian demes as they are known from inscriptions, it is seen that there are four deme names or abbreviations which correspond very well: Τέμ(ενος?), Χοίρ(εαι?), Αἰγαλ(-?) and Αἰγλεφείρη (which always appears as ἐξ Αἰγ. or as ἐξ Αἰγλεφείρης to distinguish it from Αἰγ., Αἰγα., or Αἰγαλ). These four demes are probably the four places mentioned by Herodotos.<sup>41</sup> From his account it is clear that the first three were in the same general area, and on the coast; *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 makes it probable that Αἰγ. lay in the plain beyond Mt. Kotylaion which is some ten miles east of Eretria. This then is where the Persians landed their cavalry,<sup>42</sup> far enough from the city to give them time to get their first troops ashore without opposition, and near enough to attack without a long and fatiguing preliminary march.

The historical conclusion from this topographical argument—that the Persian fleet, or the Eretrian squadron of it, sailed right up the channel past Marathon and landed on a long but unified front in the bay of Aliveri from ten to fifteen miles east

<sup>40</sup> See below under Τάμναι.

<sup>41</sup> The identification of the abbreviation Τε[μ.] in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 44 (a trace of the first hasta of the M seems clear on my squeeze and actually shows in Eustratiades' careful drawing, but has not been incorporated into the text) with Herodotos' Τέμενος was first made by Stavropoulos in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1895, p. 153, and Eustratiades had identified Χοίρ. and Αἰγ. with Χοίρειαι and Αἰγίλεια when he first published the "Agreement with Chairephon" in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1869, p. 331. Since 1892 Αἰγλεφείρη has usually been identified with a place on Mt. Kotylaion where the name is supposed to have survived as 'Αγλέφιρα (Wilhelm, *archaol.-epigr. Mitth. Österreich-Ungarn*, XV, p. 117) or 'Αγλέφαρος (Papabasileiou, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1905, p. 25), and then Αἰγαλ. is equated with the Styrian island: so Ziebarth in *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 164. But these identifications should be interchanged because (1) Αἰγ. appears in the same district of the 'Ερετρική as Tamynai in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, and thus cannot be the Styrian island; (2) Herodotos' Αἰγλείη corresponds better with Αἰγλεφείρη than with Αἰγαλ.; (3) ἐξ Αἰγ. appears in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 B where all the demes appear to be southern. See further the notes on the individual demes, below.

<sup>42</sup> Whatever opinion one holds about the vexed problem of the Persian cavalry at Marathon (and it may be noted that Wilhelm's restoration of the first Marathon epigram, so ably defended by Jacoby in *Hesperia*, 1945, would, if right, confirm their presence), it is fairly clear that Maurice goes too far when he says ("The Campaign of Marathon," *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 17): "... while there is the statement (VI, 101) that horses were landed in Euboea, that island is so unsuitable for the employment of mounted troops that I believe the horses landed must have been limited to those of superior officers. The Greeks possessed no cavalry. . . . I suggest . . . that Herodotus assumed without strict enquiry that the Persian expedition was provided with an arm which the Greeks particularly feared. . . ." Herodotos has made a point of Darius' preparation of horse transports; to suppose that the present reference is to a few horses only is to take an unnatural sense from the words; and cavalry is the very arm for which the Eretrians were famous. Finally, if our argument is correct, the cavalry were landed on the edge of the Eretrian plain itself—an eminently suitable place for their employment.



of Eretria—seems reasonably certain. It is admittedly a rather minor point; so minor that it seems not to have troubled historians that the Persian cavalry should land all the way from Styra's island to Tamynai, both names depending upon emendation.

### THE INDIVIDUAL DEMES

Αἰγαλ(ῆθεν?)<sup>43</sup>

The abbreviation appears as Αἰγαλ., Αἰγα., or Αἰγ.<sup>44</sup>

The deme is in District IV,<sup>45</sup> and is probably referred to by Herodotos in VI, 101 as Αἰγίλεια;<sup>46</sup> if so, it lay on the coast. There is no reason to suppose that it was homonymous with the Attic deme Αἰγυλιά in Antiochis.

This was the deme of the philosopher Menedemos, who appears in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 A 66.

The deme is apparently mentioned in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 376, line 9 as containing sacred properties leased by the Athenians in the latter part of the 5th century. Raubitschek has published an improved text of this inscription in *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 28-33; in note 67 on p. 31 he collects a number of references and tentatively

rejects the identification with the Styrian island, but does not really enter into a discussion of the position of the deme.

It is possible that [Αἰ]γα and Αἰ[γα] should be restored in lines 7 and 8 respectively of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 230 b (see the improved text given below, p. 145).

ἐξ Αἰγλεφείρης

The abbreviation appears as ἐξ Αἰγ., ἐξ Αἰ., and once (?)—*I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 B 4—as ἐξ Α; the full form also as ἐξ Αἰγλεφείρας.

The deme was probably small, for it has only 7 or 8 known members, although the three citizen-lists in which they appear contain together about 1,000 names. The fewness of its demesmen is natural if the identification with the island of the Styrians, Herodotos' Αἰγλείη<sup>47</sup> is correct, for that island has an area of

<sup>43</sup> For the full form we are unfortunately dependent on *I.G.*, XII, 9, 243, a lost inscription published by Girard in *B.C.H.*, 1878, pp. 277-279, where in lines 8 and 9 Αἰγαλ|[ῆθε] and [Αἰγαλ]ῆθεν should probably be read.

<sup>44</sup> The abbreviation Α. which appears in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 A 104 is probably a mistake: Α[ἰγ.] should be read, for it appears from the small but clear photograph published by Kourouniotes in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1911, pl. 2 that there is an injury to the surface of the stone immediately after the Α.

<sup>45</sup> See *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, line 80. The sepulchral stele of [Ὠ]ρωποκ[λῆς] Εὐθυρ[---?] built into a house at Magoula four or five miles northeast of Eretria, carries a rare name which has been variously restored as Εὐθυρίτου (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 772), Εὐθυρήτου (*I.G.*, XII, 9 Index *s. v.*), and Εὐθυρρήτου (*I.G.*, XII, *Supp.* with the comment "nomen Delphicum, cf. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 241, 129"). The second of these seems preferable, for the only Euboean known to have borne any of these three names is Euthyretos the father of Antimenes of Αἰγ. (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 A 11). There is no indication of the date of the stele, but if the fathers of Oropokles and Antimenes were identical or related the inscription would suggest that Αἰγ. was probably not far from Magoula. Unfortunately there is little reason to suppose them related, for in more than half of the cases where a name is borne by only two Eretrians whose demes are known, those two men come from different demes. (In this calculation fathers who have the same name have been presumed to be two different men,—see footnote 28 on p. 128,—so that the result is rather too favorable to the chances of identification; the fact that some pairs of rare names in the same deme will belong to different men has a similar influence on the result.) This conclusion was somewhat laborious to establish but may be of general interest to epigraphists, for it shows that men with the same rare name should not be identified on that ground alone even when both are apparently contemporary citizens of a comparatively small city.

<sup>46</sup> See discussion above, on p. 130.

<sup>47</sup> Proposed above, p. 132, note 41.

only about one square mile.<sup>48</sup> The Wilhelm-Papabasileiou identification (see above, p. 132, note 41) with a place on Mt. Kotylaion was based only on the supposed survival of the name, but has been accepted by Geyer<sup>49</sup> and Ziebarth.

The twenty names listed under a poorly preserved heading in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 in which Ziebarth assumed a stonecutter's error in order to read ἐ[ξ] Α[ι]γ[λεφ]ε[ίρης], (B 220-240), are more likely to belong to men from Δάκεθεν.<sup>50</sup> There is no justification for Ziebarth's restoration.

Ἀλιφῆθεν

This deme is known from a single sepulchral inscription, *I.G.*, XII, 9, 532, which reads Ἀπόληξίς | Φανίου | Ἀλιφῆθεν. As the stele is built into the wall of a private house at Eretria, it is probable that it was found in the neighborhood, and we may tentatively assign the deme to District III Mesochoron, or less probably to District IV.

Ἀμάρυνθος

The abbreviation appears as Ἀμαρ. or Ἀμα. (possibly as Ἀμαρυν. in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 230 b, line 13).

Strabo (448) says ταύτης (i. e., Eretria) δ' ἐστὶ κόμη ἢ Ἀμάρυνθος ἀφ' ἑπτὰ σταδίων τοῦ τείχους, but this exact statement of distance is apparently only one of his numerous errors about Euboea. No considerable remains have been found so near the city; many inscriptions, however, have been found near Κάτω and Ἀνω

Βάθεια five or six miles to the east at the foot of Mt. Kotylaion: as these include six or seven dedications to Artemis, Apollo, and Leto, and fragments of victor lists from the games of some festival, it is reasonable to assume that the great temple of Artemis Amarynthia lay in the vicinity although its remains have not yet been identified. Stephanus Byzantinus, *s. v.* Κοτύλαιον, preserves the information that Mt. Kotylaion was sacred to Artemis (as the Eretrian Mt. Olympos apparently also was—see *I.G.*, XII, 9, 260).

ἐξ Ἀσ.

The abbreviation appears as ἐξ Ἀσ. only (ἐξ Α. in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 B 4 is more likely to stand for ἐξ Αἰγ.).

The deme belonged to District I. Indeed 12 of the 17 men of this district in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 are from ἐξ Ἀσ.

Ἀφαρεῦθεν

The abbreviation appears as Ἀφαρεν., Ἀφαρε., Ἀφαρ., and Ἀφα. The full form also occurs without the final ν.

This large deme belonged to District III Mesochoron, and the evidence of the sepulchral inscriptions (see above, p. 127) suggests that it was in or near Eretria.

Βουδιόθεν

The abbreviation appears as Βουδιο., Βουδι., Βουδ., and Βου. The full form also occurs without the final ν.

<sup>48</sup> As nearly as can be estimated from the 1:200,000 map of Euboea and Boeotia published by the Greek Tourism Association.

<sup>49</sup> *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euböia*, Berlin, 1903, p. 78.

<sup>50</sup> Four of them recur, reversed, as names of men from Λακ. in this same inscription, and with 249 B 226 Κλείταρχος Τιμοσθένων compare 248 A 9 Τιμοσ[θ]ένης Κλειτ[—], a Λακ. man. (It should be mentioned, however, that one of the twenty names recurs in Δισμ.—*I.G.*, XII, Supp., 555, 1. 32—and two, reversed, recur one in Δισμ. and one in Ζαρ.) Without a squeeze it is difficult to discuss the question, but it may be pointed out that of the scholars who edited the inscription before Ziebarth, Tsountas (in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1887, p. 100) read Σ. α Γ— here (his majuscule text on p. 90 is slightly different), while Stavropoulos (in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1895, p. 136) read no letters at all in this line. Ziebarth remarks on his restoration of the heading: "supplevi quia Δημύλος Παραμόνον fuit ἐξ Αἰγ. teste titulo 244 A 21." But 244 A 21 reads [Δημ?]ύλος Παραμόνον ἐξ Αἰγ; Παράμονος is the commonest of all Eretrian names, and the lacuna might be filled by Ἀρκ, Ἀστ, Μικ, Σιμ, Φαν, or Φωκ: all of which would give names already attested at Eretria.

This large deme appears curiously late, *I.G.*, XII, 9, 244 (*ca.* 280 B.C.) being the first inscription to list any citizen as from Βουδ. It is remarkable that there is no one from Βουδ. in either of the long lists 245 and 246, which between them carry nearly 1,300 names of men from 31 different demes. It is possible that Βουδ. was not formed until later than most of the other demes.<sup>51</sup>

A man from Βουδ. may appear in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 240, but the demotic in line 29, Βίотτος: Εὐβίον: [Β]ου., cannot be considered certain. Wilhelm recorded no letters after the name, and Stavropoulos queried his own reading of [Β]ου... Α Βίотτος Εὐβίον occurs in Ὁρωπός in 249 B 108, which is 20-30 years later in date.

In 248 B 22 Ziebarth (in *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*) restores [Βουδιόθ]εν because the one citizen under this heading is [---]χος Εὐκτημονίδου, and the only other Εὐκτημονίδης known at Eretria is from Βουδ. This suggestion may be strengthened by carrying it a step further. It can be seen from Kourouniotes' photograph (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1911, p. 21), or even from Ziebarth's carefully spaced majuscule text, that if [Βουδιόθ]εν is correct, the deme in line 19 must have had a very short name, for no trace of it shows on the preserved surface: it should not contain more than 7 letters. And it should end in -θεν as all the headings in this inscription apparently did. Now of the twenty Eretrian deme-names which are known in this adverbial

form, only Λάκεθεν is as short as 7 letters.<sup>52</sup> And it is a reasonable restoration on general grounds, for Λάκεθε comes just before Βουδιόθε on face A of this same inscription, and the names in lines 20 and 21 are both attested for Λακ. Indeed whether [Βουδιόθ]εν is correct or not in line 22, the length of the seven other headings of which some letters remain makes Λάκεθεν—or some unknown deme-name which was equally short—necessary in line 19, for there is no room for a man's name, and no other Eretrian demotic ending in -θεν is at least two letters shorter than 5 or 6 of the others, as this was.

Ziebarth's restoration of line 4 in 248 B—[ἐκ Κοτυλα]ίου must, however, be rejected: there is no reason to suppose that the line contained a heading rather than a man's name, especially as all the other headings in this inscription are of the -θεν form, and in any case the restoration is too short—the lacuna should be filled by 13-15 letters instead of 8.

There is no direct evidence for the deme's position. Papabasileiou (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1905, p. 27) says that a place Βουδόχη, north of Aliveri, still keeps the name.

#### Γρύγχαι

The abbreviation appears as Γρυγχη., Γρυν., Γρυγ., and Γρν. The plural of the "ethnic" in the Athenian tribute-quota lists<sup>53</sup> is Γρυνχῆς,

<sup>51</sup> If Βουδ. was formed late, and then partly out of territory which had belonged to Λάκεθεν, we could understand the close prosopographical connections of these two demes, and in particular how it is that Ὀνήριμος Ἀμυνάνδρου appears as Λακ. in 240 (*ca.* 305 B.C.) and as Βουδ. in 249 (*ca.* 280 B.C.), while Ἀρέτων Ὀρτυγιώνος similarly appears as Λακ. in 244 (*ca.* 280? B.C.) and as Βουδ. in 249. But such speculation is dangerous: there are, as has been said, about 9 other instances at Eretria of what appears to be the same man being listed in one inscription with one demotic and in another with another.

<sup>52</sup> The demotic in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 230 b 14 (see revised text of this inscription below, p. 145) --[.]π[.]ηθεν-- perhaps also qualifies, but it should be noticed that the inscription is Attic and about fifty years earlier. Of the rest, 8 demes are 8 letters long in the -θεν form, 7 are 9 letters long, 2 are 10, and Μυθουντόθεν is 12. This leaves 25 to 30 demes about which we have no direct evidence except that 8 of them have more than 3 letters in the root and so would give a -θεν form more than 7 letters long, while 12 of the others seem always to appear with ἀπό or ἐκ instead of the adverbial form. But we know too little to argue that other short -θεν forms did not exist.

<sup>53</sup> See Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, 1939, pp. 256-257.



later Γρυνχῆς; also Βρυνχεῖς. The Eretrian inscriptions have Γρυνχεῖς and Γρυνχῆθεν. The name of the town itself was probably Γρύγχαι (Steph. Byz. gives both Πύγχαι and Τρύχαι and Lykophron<sup>54</sup> refers to a mountain called Τρύχαντα which, Geyer suggests, is the vocative of Τρύχας, a variant of the town's name). Geyer makes out a good case<sup>55</sup> for putting Grynchai in the hilly eastern part of the Ἐρετρικὴ near Cape Oktonia.

If Ziebarth's reading of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241,

[*Nomen* . . .] μπληθεν Φιλοξένου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἔπεμψεν μαντείαν  
[εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐρωτῶντ]ων τὸν θεὸν Ἐρετριέων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τοῖ

(in Ziebarth's text the second τ of ἐρωτῶντων was inadvertently omitted—see his Addenda). I unfortunately have no squeeze and am dependent on the poor photograph published by Kourouniotes in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1911, p. 33, and on an only slightly better one which I took myself in the Chalkis Museum: neither is good enough to provide any check on the reading of the first few letters in line 1. Careful measurements made on both photographs do, however, provide the information that the mid-point of line 1 falls in the π of εἶπεν (a small part of the left edge of the inscribed surface, below the taenia, is preserved and makes the measurement fairly dependable). The letter in line 2 immediately below this π is the ν of θεόν. It is thus reasonable to suppose that there were, in lines 1 and 2, almost the same number of letters on either side of this π and this ν respectively. In line 1 there are 29 letters to the right of π; in line 2 there are 30 letters to the right of ν. In line 1 Ziebarth reads 18 letters left of π (Kourouniotes read 17, omitting the first μ); thus the lacuna should contain about 11 letters. If we restore

line 82 is correct, Grynchai was in District IV: otherwise it seems probable, from the occurrence of its demesmen in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 B, that it was in District II: it will be seen from the map that either affiliation is geographically possible.

It is possible that the orator of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 213—a fragmentary but interesting decree about the consultation of an oracle by the state—was a man from Grynchai. The first two lines, as published by Ziebarth, read:

[Ἀστυνόμος Γρ]υνχῆθεν Φιλοξένου (supposing the orator to be the son of Φιλόξενος Ἀστυνόμου Γρυνχῆθεν in 249 B 366, an inscription which is roughly fifty years earlier), we fill the space requirements exactly, and as only the tops of the first letters are preserved, ΥΓΧ may well have been mistaken for ΜΠΛ, which cannot be restored as part of any known Eretrian demotic. While Philoxenos is not an uncommon name, the son of Astynomos is the only Philoxenos from Grynchai to appear in the citizen-lists. (It may also be pointed out that Ziebarth's restoration of the lacuna in line 2 is about 5 letters too short.)

#### Δισμαρόθεν

The abbreviation appears as Δισμα., Δισμ., and Δισ.

The deme is in District I, according to *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, line 15 where the reading is certain. It may be noticed that the other demes of District I, which was presumably south of Styra, were as one would expect small, and that Δισμ.'s prosopographical connections appear to be central rather than southern.<sup>56</sup> It is unfortunate

<sup>54</sup> Lykophron, *Alexandra*, 374.

<sup>55</sup> Fritz Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euböia*, 1903, pp. 73-74.

<sup>56</sup> Δισμ. most often shares rare names with Περ., Αἰγ., Ταμ., and Περ.—but little weight can be put on this kind of argument, for membership in a deme may have been at Eretria, as at Athens,

that Δισμ.'s position in District I should depend on a single entry, but even so the chance of a stonecutter's error seems remote.

#### Δύστος (Plate XXII)

The abbreviation appears as Δυστο., Δυστ., Δυσ., and Δυ.

Dystos was one of the most important towns in the Ἑρετρική. There is no doubt about its position, for there are extensive remains,<sup>57</sup> and a modern village near by preserves the name, as does also a Roman sarcophagus found on the site.<sup>58</sup> It belonged to District II.

Dystos has been supposed to be a Dryopian foundation because of the ending -στος (cf. Γεραιστός, Κάρυστος, etc.)<sup>59</sup> and this conclusion is borne out by the "Styrian" character of many of the names of its demesmen.

Curiously enough, neither Dystos nor the neighboring Zarex appears in any of the third-century citizen-lists<sup>60</sup>—an anomaly made all

the more striking by the occurrence of a *single* Dystian among the 860 citizens listed in 245. Men from such southern demes as Styra, Histiaia and "Minth," continue to appear in large numbers. It is hard to believe that this disappearance is entirely due to the fragmentary character of our information,<sup>61</sup> but the explanation is obscure.

Ἐγε.

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 27 (Ziebarth's line 26), where the reading seems certain. It is possible (but perhaps improbable) that Ἐγε. is an error for ἐγ Νε. Its occurrence here is perhaps some slight reason to suppose that the deme was in District III.

Ἐγω.

The abbreviation appears only in this form. And the deme is known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246.<sup>62</sup> Τίμω Τιμοδώρον, whose sepulchral stele

hereditary rather than dependent on where one lived. Several names of Δισμ. men appear also in other demes:

Τιμαρχίδης Τιμοχάρου—Δισμ. in 555 line 6, Ταμ. in 249 B 300 (note also Τίμαρχος Τιμαρχίδου Ζαρ.—245 A 251)

Δημόνικος Δημοτίμου—Δισμ. in 245 B 215 but Ζαρ. in the same inscription, B 71! Note these names reversed in Δισμ. in 555 line 11, and in Λακ.?—see footnote 50, p. 134—in 249 B 238.

Πολύστρατος Πολυξένου—Δισμ. in 555 line 42, Περ. in 245 A 301.

The explanation of this is obscure, but as none of the names is unusual it is possible in these cases that we have to do with different men who happened to have the same name and father's name.

<sup>57</sup> The results of a brief investigation of them were published by T. Wiegand in "Dystos," *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 1899, pp. 458-467, with a large plan and a number of photographs. It is much to be desired that further excavation should be undertaken here.

<sup>58</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 9, 88.

<sup>59</sup> See Fritz Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euböia*, 1903, p. 111.

<sup>60</sup> It is, however, quite possible that the orator of the third-century decree published as *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*, 552, should have his demotic restored as Δυστόθεν, for his father seems to have been called Χορόνικος—a name which appears only twice otherwise at Eretria, once certainly, and the other time probably as that of a man from Δυσ. (See note 5, p. 116.)

<sup>61</sup> But compare Οἶνο., Ῥαφι., Φαλλ., and Φλυ.—large demes for which also there is no evidence in the third century.

<sup>62</sup> Ziebarth's restoration (in *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*) of line 8 of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 243 (an inscription which is now lost, published by Girard in *B.C.H.*, II, 1878, p. 277) as [Ἀγαθών]μος Ἀριστωνύμου [Ἐγω.], of which he says *supplevi* ex 246 B 24: Ἀριστώνμος Ἀγαθωνύμου Ἐγω., is unacceptable, first because he might equally well have compared 245 B 434: Ἀριστώνμος Κριτοδήμου Οἶν.—Ἀριστώνμος is in any case not an unusual name at Eretria—and secondly because Girard's majuscule copy shows space for only two letters before the -μος. (It is true that in his minuscule text Girard prints . . . . .μος, but this would make line 8 about four letters longer than line 9, and it is clear that Girard was not using the convention that one dot equals one missing letter.)

was built into a house at Eretria (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 745), may have been related to Τιμίδης Τιμόδωρον Έγω. (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 B 90) which is perhaps a slight reason for guessing that the deme may have belonged to District III. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, line 103 (see text above, p. 120) is probably to be completed as either Έγ[ω.] or έγ [Μν]—the deme in question, whichever it is, belongs to District IV.

έξ Έν.

The abbreviation appears as έξ Έν. and έξ Έν.

The deme is known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 245 and from a restored name in 244 A 39.

The fact that it exclusively shares three rather unusual names—Διονυσοφάνης, Προθυμίδης and Υγιάίων—with Κωμ. is perhaps some slight reason for placing it between Dystos and Styra.

έξ Έσχ.

The abbreviation usually appears as έξ Έσ. (έξ Έσχ. only in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 A 331).

The deme is in District I. It was thus probably south of Styra; if so its position would lend color to Ziebarth's guess that it is to be completed as έξ Έσχατης,<sup>63</sup> but this is very uncertain.

Ζάρηξ

The full forms of the demotic are Ζαρήκιοι or Ζαρηκόθεν, the abbreviations Ζαρη., Ζαρ., or Ζα.

The position is certain. Plutarch refers to an Eretrian fort Ζάρητρα (Stavropoulos would emend to Ζάρηκα) at the narrowest part of the island (*Phokion*, 13); and remains have been found near the modern village of Ζάρκα which

preserves the name.<sup>64</sup> The town was probably originally Dryopian.<sup>65</sup>

Zarex was the largest of the Eretrian demes to judge by the number of demesmen whose names are known. It is curious, as was remarked above under Δύστος, that it appears in none of the citizen-lists later than *ca.* 300 B.C.

There are about 9 cases in which men from Zarex appear to have sons in other demes (or vice versa), but as in four cases both "father" and "son" appear in the same inscription (245), it is difficult to see any significance in the fact. The demes so connected with Zarex are Δισμ. (3 times), Δύστος, Κωμ., Λακ. (?), έγ Νε., Ταμ., and Φαλλ. (twice).

Ίστίαια

The abbreviation appears as Ίστιαι., Ίστια., Ίστι., Ίστ., and (once) Ίσ., while the whole word is Ίστιαιήθεν, Ίστιαιήθε, Ίστιαήθεν and Ίστιήθεν, or Ίστιαιείς. The deme has the same name as the city on the north coast of the island. Why this should be is obscure, for there is no indication that the Elloprians of the north ever reached the center of the island;<sup>66</sup> there was also a deme of this name at Athens.

Histiaia was in District II.

Καρκινούσιοι

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.* 555 lines 82-84 where two ephebes appear under this heading.

Κοτύλαιον

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249<sup>67</sup> where

<sup>63</sup> Ziebarth's reason—that there was a φυλή Έσχατιώτις at Tenos which, according to Strabo, 448, once belonged to Eretria—has lost some of its small relevance with the discovery, from *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.* 555, line 21 Τηλειδών, that έκ Τη. is unlikely to have been an abbreviation for έκ Τήνου.

<sup>64</sup> See further Schol. Lykophron, *Alex.*, 373 for Ζάραξ as the name of a mountain in Euboea, and discussions by Stavropoulos in Έφ. Άρχ., 1895, 149, and by Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>65</sup> The names of men from Zarex are often "Styrian" in character; thus Έπίτιμος, Λάκων, Μοφσίδης and Σώτιμος are otherwise known in Euboea only from the "Styrian" tablets; which also contain the name Ζαρεκιάδες.

<sup>66</sup> Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 20, seems right in rejecting Nonnus' reference (*Dionysiaca*, XIII, 166) to Χαλκίς, όπισθοκόμων μητρόπολις Έλλοπινών as a confusion between the Elloprians and the Abantes (whom Homer calls όπιθεν κομόωντες). See also below under Φαλλάριοι.

<sup>67</sup> Ziebarth's restoration [έκ Κοτυλα]ίου in 248 B 4 has been rejected above, p. 135.



the heading appears as *Κοτυλαίεις* and as *ἐκ Κοτυλαίου*. The abbreviation *ἐκ Κ.* in 249 B 420 may refer to this deme or may stand for *ἐκ Κωμαιῶν*. This is the only clear instance of ambiguity in the deme abbreviations.

The deme must have been on the slopes of Mt. Kotylaion, and thus it belonged either to District III or to District IV.

*ἀπὸ Κυλ.*

The abbreviation appears as *ἀπὸ Κυλ.*, *ἀπὸ Κυ.*, and *ἀπὸ Κ.*

Men called *Μνηριπτόλεμος* occur only twice in the citizen-lists, one certainly, and probably both, from *ἀπὸ Κυλ.*<sup>68</sup> Thus the grave stele of Eudene, daughter of Mneriptolemos, found near Aulonari (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 128, with which compare 124 also found near Aulonari) may indicate that *ἀπὸ Κυλ.* should be placed in this general area. It is possibly significant, too, that the demes with which *ἀπὸ Κυλ.* most often shares rare names are *ἐκ Τη.* and *ἐγ Νε.* which belonged in District V.<sup>69</sup> As it is known from an almost certain restoration (see the note on line 92 of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 on p. 123 above) that *ἀπὸ Κυλ.* belonged in District IV, we may feel fairly safe in placing it in the northern part of the district near Aulonari, and close to the boundary we have assumed for District V.

*Κωμαιεῖς*

The abbreviation appears as *ἐκ Κωμ.* and as *ἐκ Κω.* *Ἐκ Κ.* in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 B 420 may refer to this deme or to Kotylaion.

Stavropoulos' identification of this deme with Kyme is rejected, probably rightly, by Geyer,<sup>70</sup> and Papabasileiou's identification<sup>71</sup> with a place he calls *Κουμαῖ* on the eastern slope of Eretrian

Olympos *ἐνθα καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχει συνοικισμὸς ἐξ ὀλίγων οἰκῶν ἢ καλυβῶν ποιμενικῶν* is not very convincing. *Κωμ.* shares three rare names with the small deme *ἐξ Ἐνι.* (see above, *s. v.*), but this, if significant at all, is of no assistance in locating it, for the position of *ἐξ Ἐνι.* is equally unknown. There is, however, one way of approaching the problem: very few men from *Κωμ.* have "ἵππος names," and this seems a fairly good reason for supposing the deme to have been southern. It may be provisionally placed in District II—or, less probably, in District I.

The deme does not appear in any of the lists earlier than *ca.* 300 B.C.

*Λάκεθεν*

The abbreviation appears as *Λακε* and *Λακ.* The full form also appears without the final *ν*.

The possibility that the twenty men in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 B 221-240 belong to *Λακ.* has been discussed above under *ἐξ Αἰγλεφείρης* (footnote 50).

The close prosopographical connection between *Λακ.* and *Βουδ.* has been considered in footnote 51, and the great frequency with which ἵππος names are borne by *Λακ.* demesmen has been discussed on pp. 128 ff. Altogether it seems best to place *Λακ.* in District IV (or III).

*Μινθουντόθεν*

The abbreviation appears as *Μινθο.*, *Μινθ.*, and *Μιν*. The full form also appears without the *ν*. The deme is in District II.

*ἐγ Μν.*

The abbreviation also appears as *ἐγ Μ.* and, once, as *ἀπὸ Μν*.

There is no evidence for the deme's position,

<sup>68</sup> The demotic in *I.G.*, XII, 9 246 B 189 should probably be restored as *ἀπὸ Κ.*, on the analogy of 246 A 159 (see also line 2) since the deme occurs frequently in this inscription. (It may be noted also that the man in 246 A 93, whose demotic was omitted, was undoubtedly *ἀπὸ Κυλ.* for his father is *Φύλακος Ἀνδροτέλου ἀπὸ Κ.* in line 99.)

<sup>69</sup> E. g., *Γοργίων* (*ἀπὸ Κυλ.*, *ἐγ Νε.*, and *ἐκ Τη.*), *Λυσιμένης* (*ἀπὸ Κυλ.* and *ἐγ Νε.*), *Ξενοτίμος* (*ἀπὸ Κυλ.* and *ἐγ Νε.*), *Νικόβιος* (*ἀπὸ Κυλ.*, *Ἰστ.*, and *ἐκ Τη.*). *Ἀπὸ Κυλ.* also shares a number of rare names with *Ἀφαρ*.

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 63 and p. 75.

<sup>71</sup> *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1905, p. 26.

unless line 103 in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 (see text above, p. 120) originally read ἐγ [Μν.] (the only other possibility among the known demes is Ἐγ[ω]), in which case it would be in District IV.

ἐγ Νε.

The abbreviation also appears as ἐγ Ν.

There are four ἐγ Νε. names which recur at Eretria only in Ταμ., Βλέπυρος, Πραξίας, Σοφοκλῆς and Φιλοξενίδης and two (see note 69) which recur only as ἀπὸ Κν.; facts which may have no significance or may suggest that the neighbouring positions to which these demes have been assigned on other grounds are probably roughly right. For a possible connection with the River Nedon, see pp. 127, 136.

The deme was in District V.

Ξενιαδῶν

Known only from *I.G.*, *Supp.* 555, lines 23-25 where two ephebes appear under this heading.

Οἶνο.

The abbreviation also appears as Οἶν.

Our knowledge of this deme depends upon a single inscription, *I.G.*, XII, 9, 245, except for Ziebarth's restoration of the first line of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 200—Ἀρχέλαος Π[ηξιμάχου Οἰνόηθε (or Οἰνόθεν?)]. The restoration is probably right, for it fills the lacuna exactly, only one other Eretrian name beginning with rho occurs in the citizen-lists, and this Archelaos (245 A 49) must have been contemporary with the decree.

The only evidence for the position of Οἶνο. is the large number of its demesmen who have "ἱππος names"; this inclines one to place it in District III or IV.

Οἶχα(λία?)

The abbreviation also appears as Οἶχ.

This deme is very probably the Oichalia,

well-known in Greek legend, which Strabo (448) calls a κόμη τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς, λείψανον τῆς ἀναιρεθείσης πόλεως ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους and of which Hekataios says <sup>72</sup> ἐν Σκίῳ (?) μοῖρα τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς εἶναι Οἶχαλίαν.

The deme was in District V, and this is, as we have seen, some reason for placing it north or west of Aulonari. Ulrichs ventured a guess that it might be near Neochorion (about five miles north-west of Aulonari); <sup>73</sup> Mlle. J. Constantinou and M. J. Travlos, who conducted some small excavations near Aulonari in 1942, suggest that Oichalia may have lain on the east slope of the hill called Palaiocastri west of Aulonari where they found many Hellenistic vase fragments and, at a deeper level, early Helladic remains.<sup>74</sup> Only new inscriptions can settle the question definitely.

Πανα.

The abbreviation also appears as Παν.

There is no evidence for this deme's position except for the fact that most of the demes which occur several times in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C probably belonged to District III (see above, p. 126).

Πεν.

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 28 (Ziebarth's line 27) where the reading is certain. Its occurrence here is perhaps some slight reason for supposing that it was in District III (see above, p. 126).

Πεο.

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 26 (Ziebarth's line 25) where the reading is practically certain. Its occurrence here is perhaps some slight reason for supposing that it was in District III (see above, p. 126).

<sup>72</sup> *Ap.* Paus., iv, 2, 3. Geyer discusses what is known of the town from literary sources, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>73</sup> H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, II (1863), p. 245.

<sup>74</sup> See the brief account of these in *B.C.H.*, 1942-3, p. 327. The excavators' reasons for the suggested identification are not reported.

**Περαόθεν**

The full heading also appears as Περαεῖς; the abbreviated demotic as Περαο., Περα., or Περ.

It seems probable that Περ. is to be restored as the demotic in either line 96 or line 97 of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241—see above, pp. 123 f. and also footnote 56, p. 136). If so, the deme was in District IV.<sup>75</sup>

**Πετρη.**

The abbreviation also appears as Πετρ. and as Πετ.

Ziebarth placed the deme a few miles north of Dystos where the modern village of Πετρίες is supposed to preserve the name and indicate the position. Such identifications are treacherous, but there seems to be no other evidence.

**ἐκ Πλα.**

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 A 46; the letters are quite clear in Kourouniotis' photograph ('Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1911, pl. 2).

**Πτέχαι**

The abbreviation appears as Πτεχη., Πτεχ., Πτε., and Πτ. The full adverbial form occurs once—Πτεχῇθεν—in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 221, a decree of the late third century the proposer of which came from this deme.

This deme is referred to in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191—the agreement between Eretria and Chairephanes, who was to drain a marsh which is described as being ἐν Πτέχαις. As the deme was in District III Mesochoron, there can be little

doubt that the marsh in question was the one which made Eretria so unhealthy that her great philosopher Menedemos found it necessary to spend every evening drinking to ward off its noxious influences, which bred the mosquitoes that defeated King Otho's attempt to make Eretria an important naval base, and which today still lies east of the town, and has invaded the line of the ancient city walls.<sup>76</sup>

**Ῥαφιεύθεν**

The abbreviation appears as Ῥαφι. and as Ῥαφ.

The deme belonged to District IV. This fact would fit well with Ziebarth's conjecture that Κλεογένης Κλεώνδου whose sepulchral stele (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 111) was found some five miles north-west of Aliveri, belonged to this deme.<sup>77</sup> Unfortunately Κλεογένης is not an uncommon name—it occurs in Γρύγγαι, Δισμ. and Φαλλ. as well as in Ῥαφ.—and the only other Κλεώνδης is ἐγ Νε.; so that there seems to be quite as much against the conjecture as for it.

**Σπλη.**

The abbreviation also appears as Σπλ.

The deme belonged to District III—Mesochoron.

Apart from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 where 10 demesmen appear, there are only two possible occurrences of this deme. One is in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 230 B line 14, where the demotic is perhaps to be restored as [Σ]π[λ]ῇθεν—see the revised text of this inscription, below, p. 145. The other is

<sup>75</sup> It is perhaps worth mentioning that Περ. shares unusual names with Οἶν. and Αἰγ. ('Αντίχαρμος, Μενέδημος, Πολυκρατίδης), but only twelve demesmen are known and no conclusion can be based on the fact.

<sup>76</sup> Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 1899, p. 467, identified Ptechai's marsh with that at Dystos—presumably because about a quarter of the Eretrians whose names are preserved as swearing to the agreement came from Dystos—and Geyer (*loc. cit.*, p. 111) calls this identification possible. But as Eustratiades had sensibly remarked long before ('Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1869, p. 326) ἂν τὴν ἐν Δύστῳ λίμνην ὁ Χαιρεφάνης ἐπαγγέλλετο νὰ εξαγάγῃ ὁ λίθος βεβαίως θὰ ἔλεγε τὴν λίμνην τὴν ἐν Δύστῳ οὐχὶ τὴν ἐν Πτέχαις. It is also to be noticed that the rent is to be paid τῇ πόλει (Eretria), the produce is to be sold ἐν Ῥετρίᾳ, and the inscription is to be set up in the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria.

<sup>77</sup> Fort. Ῥαφ. ut collatis Κλεογένης Κλεοχάρου Ῥαφ. n. 245 A 347 et Κλεογένης Κλεομέδοντος Ῥαφ. n. 245 B 354 conjecerim (*I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*, p. 176). He might also have mentioned Κλεόμαντις Κλεογένου Γρυνγ. 249 B 365.



in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C line 23 (Ziebarth's line 22) where Ziebarth reads Σπ[λ]. On my squeeze there are clear but curious traces of the letter following lambda: a right angle like that made by the lower half of the left hasta and the beginning of the cross bar of an Η. The letter probably was Η in spite of the apparent lack of the upper part of the vertical hasta—in any case the restoration Σπ[λ.] seems impossible. Thus either λ was omitted in error, or there was a deme Σπη[—?—].

#### Στίρα

The abbreviation is Στυρο., Στυρ., Στυ. or Στ. The full form appears to have been Στυρόθεν.<sup>78</sup>

It is not known at what date Styra lost such independence as she enjoyed in the fifth century,<sup>79</sup> and became part of the Ἐρετρική. It must, however, have been earlier than *ca.* 341, the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 230, for a Styrian appears (line 17) in the list of Eretrians on fragment b of this inscription (see text below, p. 145).<sup>80</sup>

Zarex and Styra were the two most populous, as far as it is possible to judge, of the Eretrian demes.

#### Τάμναι

The abbreviation appears as Ταμυν., Ταμν., Ταμ., and Τα. The full form is Ταμύνθηεν (or Ταμύνθηε), or Ταμυνεῖς.

The position of the town has been much discussed;<sup>81</sup> unfortunately none of the fairly numerous references in ancient literature is of much use—the most definite of them is Strabo's remark (448) that Tamynai's temple of Apollo was “πλησίον τοῦ πορθμοῦ.” Partly because of this indication, and partly because of Herodotos' supposed mention of Tamynai in VI, 101,<sup>82</sup> the town is usually placed on the coast near Aliveri. But Strabo is singularly inaccurate about Euboea, and Herodotos' Τέμενος should not be emended to Ταμύνας. The epigraphical evidence is not entirely clear, either, in spite of the fact that six fragments of victor lists from the games held at Tamynai have been found (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 91-95a), as well as a fragment of an early fourth century *lex sacra* from Tamynai's (?) temple of Apollo, and one grave inscription which probably belonged to a man from this deme.<sup>83</sup> Of these inscriptions the

<sup>78</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 259, line 3, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 230 b, line 18.

<sup>79</sup> If the town was completely independent it is rather curious that it never issued coins; at least no coins have been identified as Styrian (Eckhel in *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, II, p. 325, attributes to Styra a bronze coin with a shell-fish type inscribed ΣΤΥ, but he has not been followed in this attribution by later scholars). There are various indications of dependence on Eretria in the fifth century. Eualkides, for instance, the Eretrian general in Ionia in 499/8 B.C., has a Styrian name. And Herodotos lists the 600 Eretrians and Styrians, who fought at Plataea, together, as if they formed a single force (ix, 28). There are, on the other hand, a number of reasons for believing that Styra was actually independent, such as her separate position on the Plataea monument, in the tribute-quota lists, and in Thucydides' list of those who sailed on the Sicilian expedition. The question is complicated and not important for our present purpose.

<sup>80</sup> Bechtel, in *Hermes*, XXXV, 1900, p. 330, says, of two men in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191, “diese Styraer sind keine Bürger der autonomen Stadt Styra, sondern Bürger der Stadt Eretria aus dem Demos Styra.” But the theory that the town and the deme were merely homonymous, as was apparently the case with the deme and the city called Histiaia, cannot be maintained in view of the close relation between the names on the Styrian tablets and the names of the Eretrian citizens of the deme Styra. For instance, the name Λυσικράτης occurs four times on the Styrian tablets, and once on an early grave stele found near Styra; its only occurrence otherwise in Euboea is as the father's name of an Eretrian whose deme was Στυρ. And Δίμων Δίμωνος appears on a sepulchral stele found at Styra (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 64): the only other instances of the name are two Eretrians both of whom belong to the deme Στυρ.

<sup>81</sup> Geyer summarizes the various arguments, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>82</sup> See above, p. 130.

<sup>83</sup> Discussed above, p. 128.

victor list which mentions Tamynai by name was found in 1858 in a house near Aliveri: it was thus not *in situ*. The other five related lists and the grave inscription were all found, at different times, near Aulonari, while the *lex sacra* was once built into the church of St. George about five kilometers west of Aulonari. Tamynai should accordingly be looked for rather nearer to Aulonari, which is 8 or 9 miles inland, than to Aliveri, which is about one mile from the strait.<sup>84</sup> Excavation will probably settle the question definitely at some future date.

The deme was in District IV.

Τέμ(ενος?)

Only one member of this deme is known—the Ἰπποκλέης of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 44—unless Ziebarth's restoration of line 10 on side B of that inscription be accepted.<sup>85</sup> It is clear from Herodotos VI, 101<sup>86</sup> that the deme lay on the coast, and also that it was near Αἶγ.—i. e., in District IV. Stavropoulos suggested (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1895, p. 153, note 11) that it may have been named from the temenos *par excellence* of the Eretrians, the sanctuary of Artemis at Amarynthos: the fact that there is also a deme called Amarynthos (Ἀμαρ. or Ἀμαρνν. [?]), perhaps makes this theory less likely, although Τέμ. will not

in any case have been far from the sanctuary of Artemis.

Τηλειδῶν

This is probably the deme which is abbreviated as ἐκ Τη. or ἐκ Τ.

If Ziebarth's highly probable restoration of line 113 of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 is correct, the deme was in District V.

The orator of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 218 is undoubtedly identical with Αἰσχινάδης Γοργίωνος ἐκ Τη. (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 245 A 278).

Φαλλάριοι

The abbreviation appears as Φαλλ., Φαλ., and Φα.

Hesychios refers to an ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας called Φάλλα or Φαλάκρα, and Ptolemy mentions a promontory on the north coast called Phalassia. Apparently the name of this deme, like that of the deme Histiaia, derives in some ununderstood way from the north of the island. Under the circumstances the fact that Φαλλ.'s prosopographical connections are closest with Ἴστ.—Εὐθύβιος, Θρασύβουλος, Πάταικος and Φιλόμηλος are names which occur only in these two demes—may be a result of propinquity, and one may guess that Φαλλ. was near Ἴστ. in District II.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Tamynai's prosopographical connections are closest with ἐγ Νε. (Βλέπυρος, Πραξίας, Σοφοκλῆς, and Φιλοξενίδης are names which occur only in these two demes); if this were any reason to suppose the demes contiguous it would so far be an indication that Tamynai was inland, but no such conclusion can be drawn until more is known of the basis of membership in a deme at Eretria. At Athens such membership was hereditary, and did not depend on domicile.

<sup>85</sup> See note 22.

<sup>86</sup> See the discussion of this passage above, p. 130.

<sup>87</sup> Ziebarth's reading Φα. in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 18 (his line 17) has been mentioned above, note 21. Only the extreme bottom tip of the first hasta of the second letter is visible, so that it is not clear how much the stroke slanted, and Η seems a possible reading (some of the supposedly vertical strokes in this inscription slant forward a little). If Φα. does appear in this part of the inscription, that is some slight reason for supposing that the deme was in the central rather than the southern part of the Ἐρετρική.

Ἐρωπιάδης Βόττου Φαλλ. (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 245 B 421) is undoubtedly the man whose family dedication to Artemis, Apollo and Leto was found by the shore near Amarynthos (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 142). This is no indication, however, that the deme should be located in the neighbourhood—no. 140 is a similar dedication by a Zarex family. Artemis Amarynthia clearly attracted dedications from all over the Ἐρετρική.

Φηγοεῖς

The abbreviation occurs as Φηγο., Φηγ. and Φη.

The appearance of members of this deme in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191, C is some reason for placing it in District III.

ἐκ Φηραι.

The abbreviation also appears as ἐκ Φη.

Φλιεῖς

The abbreviation appears as Φλιεν., Φλιε., and Φλι; the full form appears also as Φλιεῦθεν.

The only evidence for the position of the deme is the large number of "ἵππος-names" among its demesmen: this should mean that it was central.<sup>88</sup>

Χοίρει

The abbreviation appears as Χοιρ. or Χοι; the full form as Χοιρήθεν.

The deme is mentioned by Herodotos, VI, 101 as one of the places where the Persians landed their cavalry before attacking Eretria in 490 B.C. It was thus probably in District IV.<sup>89</sup> Ziebarth suggests that the village of Κουροῦνι of the present δῆμος Κοτυλαίων may preserve the name.

The orator of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 222 was from this deme.

ἐκ Χυτ.

The abbreviation also appears as ἐκ Χυ. and ἐκ Χ.

The deme was in District I.

ἐξ ὼνου.

The abbreviation also appears as ἐξ ὼ.

There is no indication of its position.

Ὀρωπός

The abbreviation appears as Ὀρωπο., Ὀρωπ., Ὀροπ., Ὀρω., and Ὀρ. The full heading is Ὀρωπόθεν or Ὀρώπιοι. The deme was certainly homonymous with Oropos across the Euboean strait: Stephanus Byzantinus says *s. v.* Ὀρωπός, "ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλη Εὐβοίας."<sup>90</sup>

The deme was in District IV.<sup>91</sup>

## DOUBTFUL DEMES

Ἀχερ.

The evidence for this deme is four letters in a single inscription where both reading and interpretation are uncertain. The inscription is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 230—an alliance between Athens and Eretria which is probably to be dated in 341/0. There are two separate pieces, which were connected by Wilhelm on the basis of the similarity of the script; one, frag. *a*, carries the text, the other, frag. *b*, carries a list of names with demotics most of which are clearly Eretrian. The readings of frag. *b*, as published in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>,<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> The fact that its prosopographical connections are closest with Βουδ.—the rare names Βουλαστίδης, Καλλίφημος, and Φανάδης occur only in these two demes—possibly points in the same direction.

<sup>89</sup> See further note 41.

<sup>90</sup> The explanation, as with Histiaia, is obscure. It should be noticed that Wilamowitz's theory that Oropos was an Eretrian colony ("Oropos und die Graer," *Hermes*, XXI, 1886, pp. 91-115) is unacceptable in so far as it depends on the occurrence of rhotacism in the dialect of both places, for rhotacism at Eretria is now known probably not to have occurred earlier than the fifth century. I hope to discuss this matter at greater length elsewhere.

<sup>91</sup> Otherwise *I.G.*, XII, 9, 744, a grave stele, carrying the remarkable name Πάνταινος, which was found between Vasilike and Eretria, would incline one to guess that the deme was west of the city, for there is one other Πάνταινος known in Euboea—an Eretrian of the deme Ὀρωπός.

<sup>92</sup> The text published by Ziebarth in *I.G.*, XII, 9, page 162 is very similar.



may be improved as follows from the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study:

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 230 b

ΣΤΟΙΧ

- [\*Ἀρχων? or 8 spaces] *vacat*  
 [v . . . . .]ος Ἀρχερ. [-*vacat*?-]  
 [Στρατηγ]οί *vacat*  
 [v . . .]μ[έν]ης Χοιρ. [v v] *vacat*  
 5 [v Ἀλ]κίας ἐκ Χυ. *vacat*  
 [v] Ἰπποσθέν[ης] Μαθ. *vacat*  
 v Ξενοτιμος [Αἰ]γα v v v  
 v Κλέαρχος Αἰ[γα]? -*vacat*-]  
 v Φιλέας Ζαρ. v [-*vacat*-]  
 10 Ἰππαρχος Ἀ[. . . . .]μο [- - -]  
 v καὶ οἱ ἵππε[ῖς v v] *vacat*  
 Ταξίαρχοι *vacat*  
 v Ἐπ[.]ρ[.]γων Ἀ[μ]αρ[v]v *vacat*  
 v Δ[ή]μαρχος [Σ]π[λ]ῆθεν *vacat*  
 15 v Ἐρά[σιπ]πος [.]ρθεν *vacat*  
 v Δ[η]μ[α]ρχ[ος] ἄτης Εὐφθην *vacat*  
 v Σ[.]ι [.] . . Στ[.]υρόθεν *vacat*  
 ἡ βουλὴ [v v] *vacat*  
*vacat*

The text of frag. *a* reads in part: ὁμόσαι δὲ τὴν συν[θήκην] Ἐρετριέων τὴν τε βουλὴν | τοὺς πεντεκοσί[ους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τὰς] | ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας. Frag. *b* seems to be a list of the Eretrians who swore to the agreement: an archon (?), 6 generals (?), the hipparch and the knights, 5 taxiarchs, and the boule. In line 1 *I.G.*, II, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, and Ziebarth in *I.G.*, XII, 9, all read ρηφ. There are traces which might be so interpreted above the αχε of line 2; they are, however, very shallow, and seem to be too high to belong to line 1 and too low to belong to a line above that; on the whole I am inclined to think that no letters were inscribed on the preserved surface (about two lines) above line 2. The

question arises, who was the man from Ἀρχερ? The list of Eretrians would seem to be complete unless there was perhaps an archon: there would be room for “ἀρχων” or “ὁ ἀρχων” at the beginning of line 1 where the stone is broken away. As the preserved surface seems to be uninscribed above line 2, this is perhaps the most reasonable hypothesis. If, however, the man from Ἀρχερ could possibly be the last of a list of Athenians who also swore to the agreement, Ἀρχερ would then be the known Attic deme Ἀχερδοῦς, and it would be unnecessary to suppose that there was an otherwise unattested Eretrian deme beginning with those letters. Unfortunately it is impossible to decide the question on the evidence available.

Εὐφθην

This deme abbreviation occurs only in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 230 b 16 (see the revised text of the inscription on this page). The last letters are uncertain: Θ (or O), Η (or N), Ν (more likely than Τ).

—ιρη

See note on line 37 of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 (page 123 above).

Παρθένιον

There is known to have been a place of this name in Euboea<sup>93</sup> and there may have been an Eretrian deme called Παρθένιον. The only evidence is *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 B 218<sup>94</sup> where a single name appears under the heading (?) Παρθενι[—]. As the headings and names inscribed in the triangular space at the top of this side of the inscription are in letters of the same size,<sup>95</sup> it seems possible that Παρθενι- may have been part of some name such as Παρθένιος (not

<sup>93</sup> Παρθένιον, πόλις Εὐβοίας (Steph. Byz.). The scholiast on Pindar, *Ol.*, VI, 149 refers to a Euboean river called “Parthenios.”

<sup>94</sup> Ziebarth's restoration of the demotic in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 230 b 15 as Π[α]ρθεν is impossible: see revised text on this page.

<sup>95</sup> ἐπὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς Β . . . τὰ δὲ ἐθνικὰ δὲν εἶναι γεγραμμένα διὰ μεγαλειτέρων ἀλλὰ μόνον δι' ἀραιότερων γραμμάτων . . . καὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς δὲ Β οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀετωμάτου στίχοι εἶναι βεβαίως ὑστερώτεροι τῶν ἄλλων (Tsountas, *Ἐφ.* Ἀρχ., 1887, pp. 83-84). I take it that ἀραιότερων means “more widely spaced,” but whether or not this applies to the headings in the gable is not clear. In Tsountas' majuscule copy

otherwise known in Euboea) instead of a deme heading—without a squeeze or a photograph it is impossible to tell.

Stavropoulos (followed by Ziebarth) would place the deme on the north-eastern slopes of Kotylaion where the modern village of Partheni seems to preserve the name<sup>96</sup> and where ancient remains exist.

Σπη[---]

See under "Σπληη," p. 141.

In recognising the city state as the characteristic Greek political unit historians have been inclined to regard Athens and Sparta as somewhat exceptional in that each possessed a considerable territory. Adcock, for example, says: "The demands of a system, the need for land, turned Lacedaemon into a territorial state but, outside Sparta, Attica is the only part of Greece where any considerable territory was guided constantly by a single will. Compared with the thousand square miles of Attica, the territory controlled by any other Greek city-state was very small. The Boeotian cities apart from Thebes govern on an average about 70 square miles, Sicyon 140, Phlius 70, Corinth 350, the eight cities of Euboea on an average 180, even islands with a single city like Chios little more than 300, and this island is the greatest."<sup>99</sup> The extent of Eretrian territory cannot be accurately estimated because of the uncertainty about her western and northern boundaries—the exact line between her territory and that of Karystos is also uncertain. But she probably controlled some 500 square miles (it is about 25 miles from Eretria to the tip of the Grynchai promontory, and a little over 40 miles in a straight line from Eretria to Karystos). Indeed if future excavation should substantially increase our knowledge of Eretria, as it probably will, the city will be of interest partly just because it is, on a smaller scale, in this as in other ways, so similar to Athens.

WILLIAM WALLACE

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UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

the letters of most (but not of all) of the headings are more widely spaced than the names: ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙ— is spaced as the names are. Neither of the later editors, Stavropoulos and Ziebarth, discusses the question.

<sup>96</sup> Stavropoulos, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1895, p. 151. Baumeister and Bursian had also made this identification.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Σκύθης Εὐφρονίου ἐκ X. (246 A 47) with Εὐφρόνιος Σκύθου ἐκ Xυτ. (246 A 272).

<sup>98</sup> The only clear instance of such ambiguity is in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 B 420 (see under Κοτύλαιον. And in some cases it is clear that pains were taken to avoid it—e. g., ἐξ Αἰγ. seems always to have been distinguished from Αἰγ. by the addition of ἐξ which continues to be used even when the name is written out in full.

<sup>99</sup> *C.A.H.*, III, Chapter xxvi, "The Growth of the Greek City State," p. 698. It may be noticed that the treatment here of Euboea gives a wrong impression; there were in fact only four cities in Euboea, unless one counts small places of doubtful independence which never, for instance, issued coins.

ἐκ Xα.

This deme is known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 B 156.

It is possible that the A is a stonecutter's error for Y: the chief reason for thinking so is that ἐκ X. is frequently used as an abbreviation for ἐκ Xυτ;<sup>97</sup> if there had been a deme ἐκ Xα., this form would have produced a kind of ambiguity which seems to have been very carefully avoided in the deme abbreviations.<sup>98</sup>

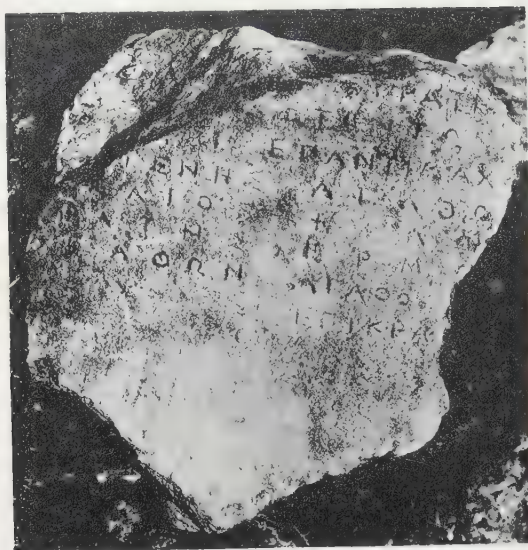
*Disruption 7 23 1678*  
 TIARE DEBERE OPTO BENE  
 VALEATIS  
*On the 7th of the month 7 25*  
 ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ Δ  
 ΜΙΣΤΟΥ ΒΕΣΣΑ  
 ΝΟΣ ΑΡΕΙΣΑΙΟΣ  
 ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΩΤΗΣ  
 ΕΤΩΝ ΙΗ  
 ΗΡΩΣ  
 ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ  
*By the same*  
 ΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΟΛΕΜΟ  
 ΥΡΑΝΙΚΑΣ ΔΕ ΤΙΜΕΣΤΑΣΑΝ  
 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΣΥΝ ΦΟΙΒΩ  
 ΙΠΟΡΘΟΝ ΑΝΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΣΤΙΧΑ ΜΗΔΩΝ  
 ΑΝΚΕΣΤΕΘΑΝΟΝ ΡΥΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ  
*on the wall*  
 ΟΝ ΕΘΗΚΕ ΔΙΟΚΚΟΡΟΝ  
 ΝΑΡΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΕΜΗΝΙ  
*on the wall*  
 ΠΕΝΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΚΑ  
 ΤΟΝ ΑΛΥΑ ΔΑΝΤΟΝ  
 ΕΠΙΤΡΑΝ  
 ΑΓΓΕΛΕΙΧΑΝ  
 ΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΕΣ  
 Ε ΜΙΑ ΝΑΙΟΝ  
 ΔΑ ΝΑΣ ΠΕΝΤΕ  
 ΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΞ  
*on the 7th*  
 ΤΙΒ ΚΑΛΥΔΙΟΥ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΤΟΝ ΤΙΒ ΚΑΛΥΔΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΝΑΡΟΥ  
 ΟΝ ΑΡΕΤΑΚ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΑΠΟΛΑΩΝΙ ΠΥΘΙΩΙ  
*The great stone by the side of wall*  
 ΠΙΘΟΝΑΥ ΔΑΜΕΝΟΣ  
 ΑΠΟΛΑΩΝΙ ΤΩ ΠΥΘΙΩ  
*On the 7th of the month*  
 ΕΟΛΙΝΑ  
 ΜΙΚΙΝΑΙ

*By a Greek*  
 ΑΝΑΙΑΝΔΡ  
 ΟΥ ΦΑΡΣΑΙ  
 ΙΩΙ ΠΡΟΣΙΕ  
 ΝΩΙ ΕΟΝΤΙ  
 ΔΕΛΦΟΙΔΕΑ  
 ΟΚΑΝ ΑΤΕΑ  
 ΕΙΑΝ ΑΣΥΑ  
 ΙΑΝ ΠΡΩΔΙ  
 ΚΙΑΝ ΜΡΟΕ  
 ΔΡΙΑΝ ΜΡΟ  
 ΜΑΝΘΙΑΝ  
 ΤΗΣΙΜΕ  
 ΔΟΥΤΕΙΦΟΥΣ ΝΑ  
 ΑΠΟΛΛΑΝΙ  
*marked down in Greek House*  
 ΑΤΟΚΥ  
 ΣΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΙ  
 ΑΣΤΟ Θ  
 ΑΙΡΕΙΝ  
 ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥ  
 ΟΝ ΠΥΘΙ  
 ΤΑΣ ΠΑ  
 ΔΕ ΑΓΩ  
 ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕΙΜΟΤΑΚ ΗΜΛΙΝ  
 ΦΑΙΟΥΑ ΒΑΛΛΕΝΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΦΑΙΟΥΑ ΒΑΛΗΤΑ ΗΠΟΝΙΣ  
 ΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕ  
 ΤΑΣ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΕΝ  
*By the same*  
 ΟΜΕΤΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΑΥΤΟ  
 ΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΘΥ  
 ΕΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ  
 ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ ΣΥΝ ΤΙΣ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ  
 ΜΑΡΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
 ΔΙΟ ΜΝ  
*On the 7th of the month*  
 ΦΑΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΕΜΙΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ ΧΡΗΣ  
 ΟΝ ΕΘΗΚΕ ΤΗ... ΟΣΙΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ  
*On the 7th of the month*  
 ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΙΝΚΑΡΝΑΤΙΟΝΕ ΔΝΙ ΝΕΡΙΛΗ  
 ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ CC LXXIII ΜΕΣ ΜΑΙΟ ΔΟC O P F E C  
 ΙΠΟΘΑΥ ΝΟΒΙΛΙC VΙR DΝS ΝΙCΟΛΑS ΟΙΛΙΑΝΙ

Recto and Verso of Folio 19 of the Diary of Francis Vernon



PLATE XII



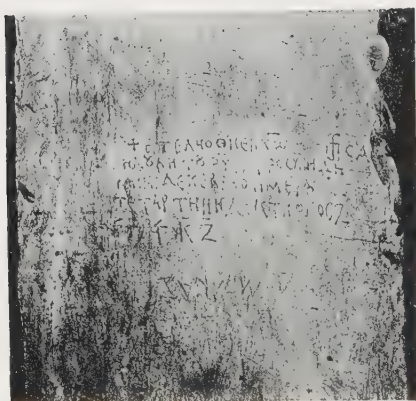
1



2



3



7



20

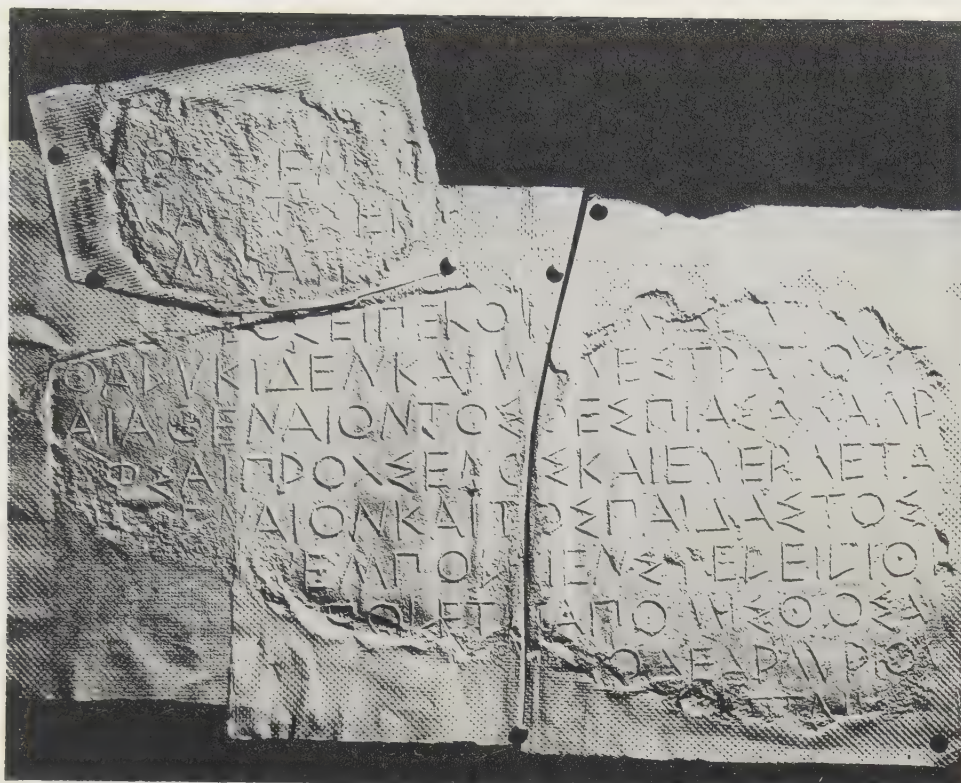


11

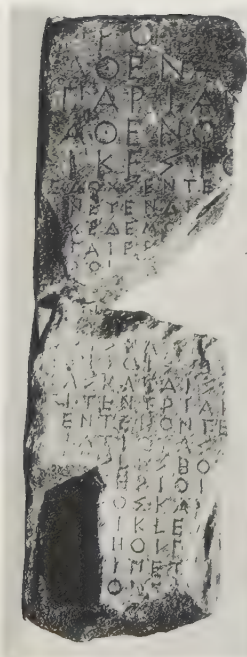


I. G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1987

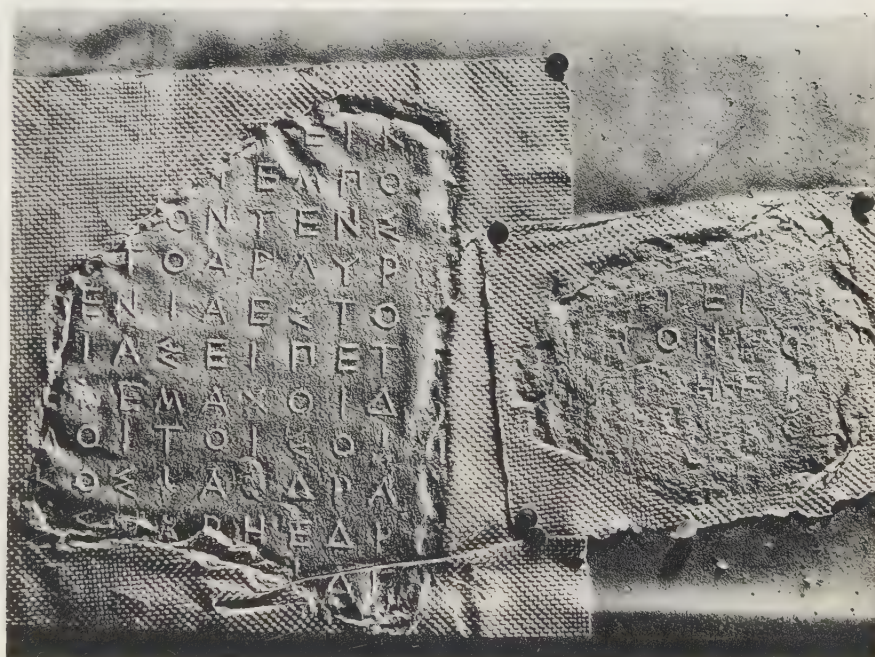




1



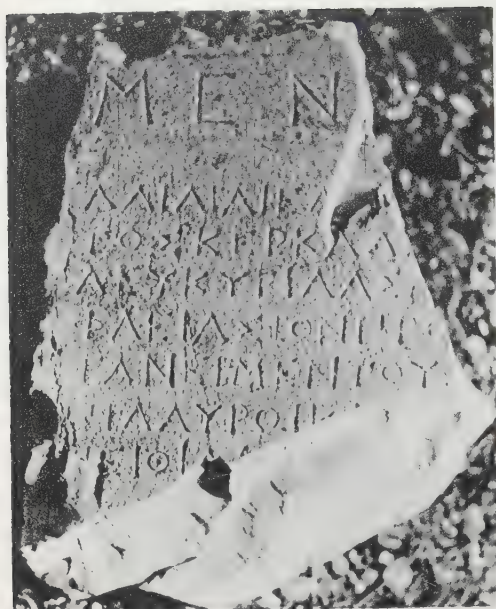
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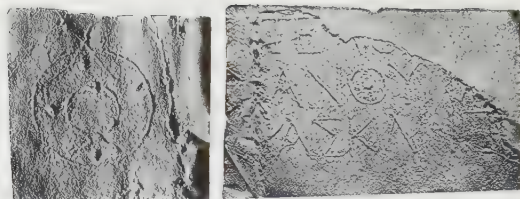
3



PLATE XIV



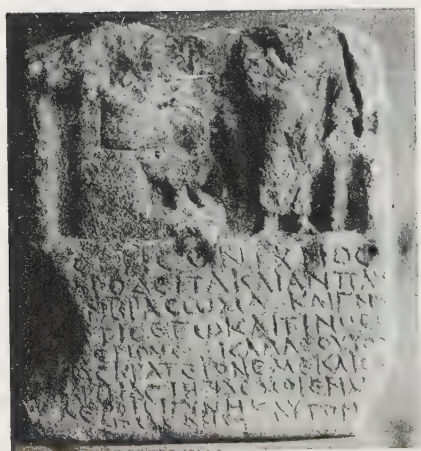
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of I.G., IV, 1, 69



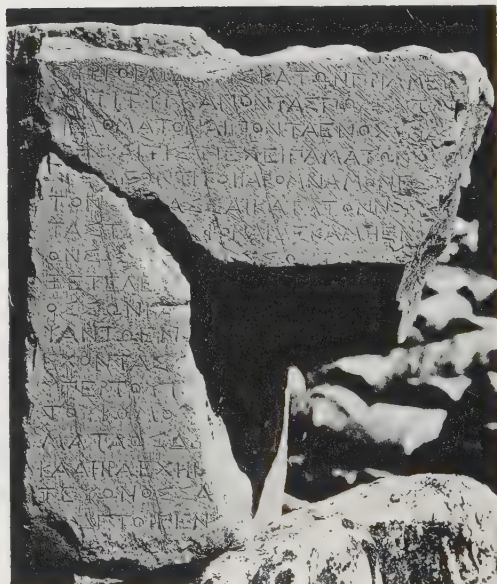
No. 2



No. 8



No. 5



No. 12



No. 13





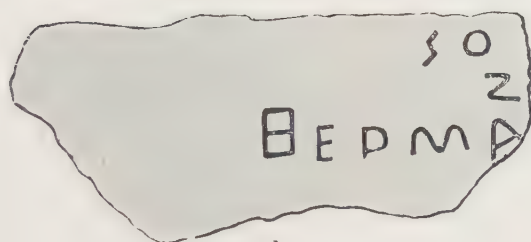
b



a



c



d



e



f

PLATE XVI



a



b



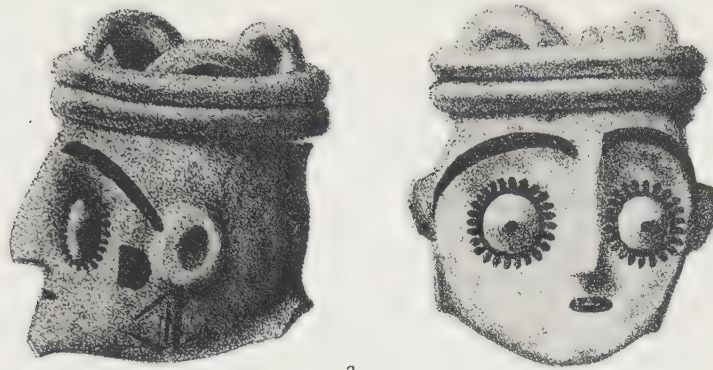
c



d



e



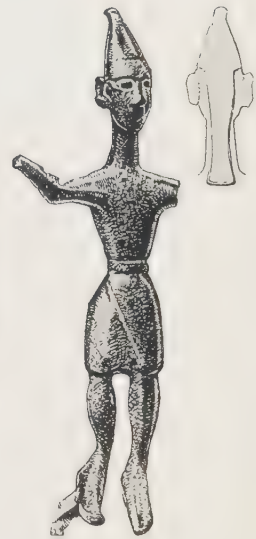
a



e



b



f



c



d

CHITTENDEN: THE MASTER OF ANIMALS



PLATE XVIII



a



b



c



d

CHITTENDEN: THE MASTER OF ANIMALS



a



b

CHITTENDEN: THE MASTER OF ANIMALS

PLATE XX



a



c



b

CHITTENDEN: THE MASTER OF ANIMALS





a



b



c



d



e



f



g

CHITTENDEN: THE MASTER OF ANIMALS

PLATE XXII



The Acropolis of Eretria from the Harbour



The Harbour of Eretria from the acropolis Dystos



Dystos

Three successive doorways on the acropolis of Dystos



## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES XXIII-XXXVII)

THE inscriptions found in the American Excavations of the Athenian Agora now number almost six thousand. Texts of importance have been published as promptly as circumstances have permitted, and selected groups of documents have been studied by various scholars. The preliminary study of other groups is now nearing completion after the inevitable delay caused by the war: the records of the *poletai* for the *hermokopidai* and for the mines at Laureion are being prepared by Schweigert and Pritchett, and by Miss Crosby; Dow will soon have additional contributions to the lists of Athenian Councillors; Oliver and Raubitschek have undertaken investigations among the texts of Roman date. There are many small pieces, of course, which do not deserve publication in their own right, but which will remain as exhibits in the Museum until such time as their association with other fragments—if ever—makes them worthy of further attention. But there are also a goodly number of pieces which qualify as appropriate subject-matter for an occasional report of progress. The following bulletin is of such a character, and it has been my purpose to include everything worth publishing from the seriatim file of inventory numbers unless some provision has been made elsewhere. Although there are some outside numbers, this report gives primarily the routine presentation of still unpublished documents which bear inventory numbers between 1 and 2,000. If it lacks unity of subject, the reader is asked to remember that the selection has been made by the chance of discovery, not by the editor.

**35** (Plate XXIII). Base of Pentelic marble, with the back and right side preserved but otherwise broken, found in Section K on March 21, 1934.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.38 m. Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 1656.

Early Fifth Century

[----] *νυγει η* [-----]  
[----] *Εὐ* *αυέτο ηνιὸς ἔθα[νε]*.

**36** (Plate XXIII). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the right side preserved but otherwise broken, found in a wall of Turkish date in Section A on April 25, 1934.

Height (of face), 0.223 m.; width, 0.39 m.; thickness, 0.16 m. Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 1898.



The writing is stoichedon and in Ionic letters. The vertical unit is 0.02 m. and the horizontal unit 0.0194 m.

ca. 410 B.C.

[χαίρετε ἀριστεύσαντε (?) Μακάρτατε] καὶ Μελάνωπε  
 [-----]ος  
 [-----]α τότε Ἀρη[---]  
 [-----]

In describing the funeral monuments of the Kerameikos Pausanias remarked on the memorial to Melanopos and Makartatos (I, 29, 6): Ἔστι δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ μνήματος στήλη μαχομένους ἔχουσα ἵππεις· Μελάνωπός σφισὶν ἔστι καὶ Μακάρτατος ὀνόματα, οὓς κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένους, ἔνθα τῆς Ἑλεωνίας εἰσὶ χώρας πρὸς Ταναγραίους ὄροι. The battle to which reference is here made has been generally taken to be the battle of Tanagra in the First Peloponnesian War, and Melanopos has been identified as father of the general Laches who was active in the Second Peloponnesian War. But the inscription here edited was cut in Ionic letters, and in its general appearance argues a date near the end of the fifth century rather than near its middle. I prefer to assume that the battle was fought, possibly, at some time after the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia and to make no identification of Melanopos. It is difficult to date any engagement late enough to justify the retention of MS. Μακεδόνων (or Μακεδονίων) instead of Λακεδαιμονίων, and I believe that Ἑλεωνίας is an acceptable emendation of MS. Ἑλευσινίας. It would have been instructive for the date if one could have identified the style of the sculpture which adorned the upper part of the stele.

The text belongs obviously to an epitaph addressed to the dead (like *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 946) and it names in its first line two men—surely not more—Melanopos and one other. These facts agree so well with what Pausanias says of the stele of Melanopos and Makartatos that the identity of the monument seems to me to be determined with a high degree of probability. Add to this the careful preservation of the stoichedon order, and the fact that the two names mentioned by Pausanias—in the order in which they appear in the epitaph—form the end of a hexameter verse, and the identification becomes almost a certainty.

**37** (Plate XXIII). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the smooth back preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section A on February 24, 1934. Possibly the rough top is also original.

Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.069 m.; thickness, 0.029 m. Height of letters, 0.009 m.-0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 1392.

The writing is stoichedon, with a square chequer pattern in which the units measure *ca.* 0.013 m.

*ca.* 400 B.C.

[...]ς ἐνθ[άδε]  
[κεῖ]ται K[...]  
[. . .]ξ] Οἷο [γυν]  
[ἡ Ἰππο]θω[ντί]  
5 [δος φυλῆς]

38 (Plate XXIII). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the right side preserved but otherwise broken, found in a late fill in Section K on April 27, 1934.

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.072 m.; thickness, 0.03 m. Height of letters, 0.008 m. Inv. No. I 1894.

The writing is stoichedon, with a vertical unit of 0.012 m. and a horizontal unit of *ca.* 0.0105 m.

Early Fourth Century B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25

	[-----]	vvv
	[-----]	vvvv
	[-----]	vvvv
	[-----]	χωρίον
5	[ἐπώ]	[ὧι γείτωμ βορράθεν ὁδός] πρὸς Ζ
	[---	[ἐαν ἄγοσα νοτόθεν δὲ ὁδός]: ἐπρί
		[ατο ..... <sup>18</sup> .....]θεν ἐ
	[γγυ vacat ]	vacat
	[καταβολή: --- . ]	vacat
	[ vacat ]	vacat
	[-----]	ουτ[.]

Apparently this inscription is part of the poletai record now published in *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 181-184. The slightly wider spacing of the lines indicates that the present fragment belongs above the rest of the text in the reconstructed document. There are other localities with names beginning in zeta which might be restored in lines 5-6, but the space available is small and favors Zea.

39 (Plate XXIII). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken away at the top and at both sides, but preserving the smooth-finished bottom and the original rough-dressed back, found in Section B on March 3, 1934.

Height, 0.124 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.11 m. Height of letters, 0.004 m. Inv. No. I 1447.

Fourth Century B.C.

[-----]λοκ[-----]  
 [-----]ν[.]εισιδρ[-----]  
 [---- ἐπώνια κ] αὐ κηρύκεια †<sup>v</sup> [----]  
*vacat*

For the restoration of line 3 see No. 51, lines 6, 16, and 47.

**40** (Plate XXIII). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the smooth-picked right side preserved but otherwise broken, found in a late fill in Section B on March 27, 1934.

Height, 0.051 m.; width, 0.063 m.; thickness, 0.025 m. Height of letters, 0.004 m.  
Inv. No. I 1691.

Fourth Century B.C.

[-----]π  
 [-----] Εὐνομ  
 [-----]μίωνος Π  
 [-----] ἀπέγραψεν ὁ  
 5 [-----]αν Πεττω  
 [-----]: γνωσα  
 [-----]σ

The restoration in line 4 is suggested by the possibility that this is part of a record of the poletai.

**41** (Plate XXIV). Part of a stele of white marble, with the right side preserved, found in Section H' on July 21, 1933.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.138 m.; thickness, 0.092 m. Height of letters, 0.006 m.  
Inv. No. I 1078.

ca. 350 B.C.

[-----] ||| : ἀν[έθεσαν]  
 [...<sup>7</sup>...]δος πρυτάνεις  
 [ἐπὶ Μόλ]ωνος ἄρχοντος 362/1  
 [χαλκᾶ (?) ] μαζονομεῖα δύο  
 5 [ἀνέθε]σαν πρυτάνεις  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...]δος οἱ ἐπὶ Νικοφῆμον 361/0  
 [ἄρχοντ]ος  
 [... μ]αζονομεῖον  
 [ἀνέθε]σαν πρυτάνεις



- 10 [Λεω]ντίδος ἐπὶ Δυννικήτ[ο] 370/69  
 [ἄρχον]τος  
 [. . . . .]ν μαζονομείον  
 [ἀνέθε]σαν Αἰγλήιδος πρυτάν[εις]  
 [ἐπὶ Χαρ]ικλείδου ἄρχοντος 363/2  
 15 [. . . . .]ια ἐπὶ τὰς τραπ[έζα]ς  
 -----

The occasion for the dedications by the prytaneis is not known, but it may be that the prytany which in each year was awarded the crown by the Demos made not only a formal dedication on which were inscribed the names of the prytaneis<sup>1</sup> but also the offering here recorded. There is no conflict between this text and the published dedicatory monuments, and, if the suggested hypothesis is correct, it may be that the dedication of Leontis now published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742 should be dated to the year of Dynniketos (370/69). The combination is possible, though not at all necessary. The spacing in line 10 assures the name Leontis, rather than Aiantis, Akamantis, or Hippothontis.

42 (Plate XXV). Two joining fragments of Hymettian marble. The upper piece, preserving part of the top with a slanting rough-picked cutting, was found in Section B on December 24, 1934. The lower piece, broken on all sides, has a moulding 0.066 m. wide below the inscribed surface. It was found in Section B on October 18, 1933.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, *ca.* 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.172 m. Height of letters, 0.017 m. Inv. No. I 1108.

*ca.* 350 B.C.

[----- πρυτάνεις ἀνέθεσα]ν νικήσ[αντες]  
 [ἐπὶ ----- ἄρ]χοντος

The tentative restoration is suggested somewhat on the analogy of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742.

43 (Plate XXV). Fragment of blue and white marble, with part of the smooth-picked top preserved but otherwise broken, found in Section B on March 15, 1934.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.039 m. Height of letters, 0.007 m. Inv. No. I 1568.

The inscription is not stoichedon, and the spacing of the lines averages *ca.* 0.01 m.

After 350 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742, 1743, etc., and commentary on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742.

[δ ι α]	ι	[τ η]	τ	α	ί
Three		Δεων[τίδος]			
columns		Δειρ[αδιῶται]			
lost		Χα[-----]			
		Λ'[------]			

The text has the same disposition as that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1927, and I assume it is part of the same inscription. The iota above the name of the phyle thus becomes the fourth letter of the heading [δια]ι[τη]ταί, and is approximately spaced over the fourth column of names, which must have belonged to Leontis. Chandler, who is our authority for the lost portion, remarked that the letters were large and fair, which seems an overstatement when applied to those of the present fragment, but one does not know with what letters Chandler at the moment was comparing them.<sup>2</sup>

The original top of the stone was 0.075 m. above the line with Δεων[τίδος]. Reference should be made to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1927 for the rest of the text, which is not repeated here. The disposition is such that the name in line 5 must be taken as the patronymic of the name in line 4.

44 (Plate XXV). Part of a base of Hymettian marble, with the left edge preserved but otherwise broken, found in Section B on April 28, 1934.

Height, 0.297 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.103 m. Height of letters, 0.013 m. Inv. No. I 1885.

ca. 330 B.C.

[-----]  
 ἐνε[κα -----]  
 Δάχ[ης -----]  
 ἀνέθ[ηκεν]  
*vacat*

One is tempted to identify this Laches with Laches, son of Melanopos, of Aixone (*P.A.*, 9020), and perhaps even to associate the dedication with the benefaction which came to him from Alexander.

45 (Plate XXVI). Dedicatory base of Hymettian marble, broken at the back and at both sides but with the top and bottom surfaces preserved, found in Section K on March 10, 1934.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.29 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m. (line 1) and 0.011 m. (lines 2-5).

Inv. No. I 1535.

<sup>2</sup> R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones Antiquae* (Oxford, 1774), p. xxx, writes "Marmor, literis magnis et pulchris, hac semper Ξ; in pavimento Ecclesiae ruinosae in via, quae ducit ex oppido in Arcem ---."

ca. 325 B.C.

[----- ἐπὶ ----]ον ἄρχο[ντος]  
 [-----]ς Κηφισι[εύς]  
 [-----] Σφήττιο[ς]  
 [----- Π]αιανι[εύς]  
 5 [-----]ἀδη[ς]

46 (Plate XXVI). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the smooth right side preserved, found in Section B on March 3, 1934.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.114 m.; thickness, 0.055 m. Height of letters, 0.006 m. Inv. No. I 1441.

The writing is stoichedon, with a vertical unit of 0.011 m. and a horizontal unit just less than 0.01 m.

ca. 300 B.C.

[----- στρατι]ωτικῶν  
 [----- κα]ὶ εἰς ἀνα  
 [----- πο]ρίζεσθαι  
 [ι -----]ονον κατ  
 5 [α -----]ως εἰς θυσ[ί]  
 [αν ----- ἀγαθεῖ τ]ύχει ΚΗ . .  
 [-----]ντων απ[....]  
 [-----]ς ἐπαι[νέσαι]  
 [-----]λῆς κα[ὶ .....]  
 10 [-----]ελο[-----]

The lettering is the same as that of *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 351 (no. 46) which is dated in the year 303/2, but the marble of the two stones is different. In line 6 there is an erasure, and the reading is confused. A nu in its proper stoichos seems not to have been completely obliterated; when this is eliminated the remaining strokes look like ΚΗ. One would expect a formula of resolution, with δεδόχθαι or ἐψηφίσθαι.

47 (Plate XXVI). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with part of the right side preserved but otherwise broken, found in Section Θ on March 15, 1934.

Height, 0.098 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.285 m. Height of letters, 0.007 m. Inv. No. I 1546.

The writing is stoichedon, with a vertical unit of 0.02 m. and a horizontal unit of ca. 0.013 m.



ca. 300 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

-----  
 [---- . . . . .] η[ς Κ]λεος[----]  
 [---- . . . . .] Θεομνήστου  
 [---- . . . Σ]τρατοκλέους  
 5 [---- .. Εὐ]αινέτο[υ]  
 -----

The names are recorded without demotics, in the style characteristic of the registers of prytaneis.

48 (Plate XXVI). A block of Pentelic marble, with two adjoining faces and part of the rough-picked bottom preserved, found in Section A on February 2, 1934.

Height, 0.202 m.; width, 0.302 m.; thickness, 0.23 m. Height of letters, ca. 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 1289.

Third Century B.C.

Face A  
*in a wreath*  
 οἱ φυλέται

Face B  
*in a wreath*  
 ἡ βουλή

This is the lower corner of a monument honoring prytaneis.

49 (Plate XXVI). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, complete except for a large chip from one side and another from the rough-picked base.

Height, 0.685 m.; diameter beneath the ring, 0.195 m. Height of letters, ca. 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 1900.

Third Century B.C. (?)

[—  $\frac{3}{4}$  —] ἀρίστη  
 [—  $\frac{3}{4}$  —] ράτου  
 [Παια] νιέως  
 [θνηγ] άτηρ  
 5 [— — — ἐξ] Οὔου γυ[νή]

50 (Plate XXVI). Fragment from the lower left corner of a block of Hymettian marble, found in a modern wall in Section B on March 1, 1934.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.192 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Height of letters, 0.006 m.  
 Inv. No. I 1423 a.

Third Century B.C.

*vacat*  
 Κλεοφῶν  
 Δημοφάνου[ς]  
*vacat*

The absence of the demotic indicates that this is a citation, possibly, from a decree of a deme. Cf., for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1203.

**51** (Plate XXVII). A number of fragments of Hymettian marble, which fall into six groups, and represent one original opisthographic stele.

Fragment *a* was found in Section K on May 11, 1934 (height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.034 m.). Its left side is preserved, and is picked with a toothed chisel. Inv. No. I 1971.

Fragment *b* was found in Section B on April 13, 1934 (height, 0.052 m.; width, 0.047 m.; thickness, 0.02 m.). It is broken on all sides and at the back. Inv. No. I 1777.

Fragment *c* was found in Section B on April 14, 1934 (height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.021 m.). Part of the picked right side is preserved, but the stone is otherwise broken. Inv. No. I 1778.

Fragment *d* was found in Section K on March 9, 1934 (height, 0.07 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.). It is broken on all sides. Inv. No. I 1533.

Fragment *e* is a tiny fragment (height, *ca.* 0.03 m. and width *ca.* 0.07 m.), broken on all sides, which was found with the numerous pieces of fragment *f* during September, October, and November of 1934 in Section B. Inv. No. I 2014*b*.

Fragment *f* is composed of many pieces found in a heavy Roman wall in Section B during September, October, and November of 1934 (height, 0.33 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.). The lower corner of the stele is preserved, being the right corner of Face A, and at the bottom is part of a tenon. The side is picked with a toothed chisel. In thickness the stele tapers slightly. There were also discovered several uninscribed pieces which do not join and which are not here illustrated. Inv. No. I 2014*a*. For the place of discovery see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 168 and note 2.

The writing is not stoichedon, and resembles the more careful style of the third century. Letters are *ca.* 0.005 m. high, and the vertical unit of the lines measures *ca.* 0.01 m.

*ca.* 250 B.C.NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 50

*a* [---]ασ[-----]  
 ντων προσο[-----]  
 πραθέντων ε[-----]  
 α κατεκύρωσ[αν οί ἐννέα ἄρχοντες· Κτησικλῆς Ὀλυμπιοδώρου Πο]  
 5 τάμιος ὠνη[τῆς ἦν ----- τούτ]





- 40 ----- ὦι γε]ίτων [βορρά]θ: Π[.....]φαν  
 [-----]ιγεν[....]η καὶ ἐργασ[τ]ήρι[ον]  
 [-----]οικόπε[δον ..]σίου Ἀχαρνέως [...]  
 [-----]ξ]ένου ὄντο[ς ....]ν κεκτημένου αὐ[τ]  
 [οὐ -----]ίου Σωστρά[του το]ῦ τελώνου ὃ ἔφην  
 45 [αν οἱ πωληταὶ ἐν τῷι βουλευ]υτηρίῳ Σκι[ροφορι]ῶνος τετρ[ά]δι ἐπὶ δ[έ]  
 [κα εἰσηγουμένων τῶν προέ]δρων· Κτησι[κλή]ς Ὀλυμπιοδώρ[ο]ν Ποτ[άμι]  
 [ος ὠνητῆς ἦν: -----]  $\overline{\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta}$  : τούτου ἐ[π]ώνια καὶ κηρύκεια [...]  
 [χωρίον ----- <sup>ca. 18</sup> -----] Λακιάδης ἔφ[η]νεν Σωστράτου τοῦ τελώνου  
 [ὦι γείτων πρὸς ἡλίου ἀν]ιόν: Αἰσχρα[ίου χωρί]ον, δνομένου ὁδός, βορρά  
 50 [θεν ὁδός ἢ εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήρ]ιον εἰ[σάγουσα, ν]οτό ἄμφοδον, ξένου ὄντο  
 [ς ....ν κεκτημένου αὐτοῦ] *vacat*

## Face B

- f* [--- <sup>ca. 6</sup> -----]λ[-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 8</sup> -----]ίδην [-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 7</sup> -----] Κολων[ῆ]θεν -----  
 55 [--- <sup>ca. 8</sup> -----]αμεν[-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 7</sup> -----] λεγόντ[ω]ν [-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 7</sup> -----]ς ψῆφοι πλήρεις: π[-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 7</sup> -----]νη καὶ ὁ κύριος τὸ ἀμ[-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 8</sup> -----]το:  $\overline{\Delta}$  : τῶ[ν] ψήφων α[-----]  
 60 [--- <sup>ca. 5</sup> -----] πεντακοσίων [-----]  
*vacat*

This record of the poletai is unfortunately badly mutilated, but it should be studied in the light of Aristotle's *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, §§ 47, 2-3, and 68, 2-4, which deal respectively with the duties of the poletai (Face A) and the procedure of voting (Face B).

For the restoration in line 4, see Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 47, 2, and the name recorded below in line 46. There is no certainty about the disposition of the fragments except that *f* is from the bottom of the stele. I have tentatively assigned *a* to Face A because of the appearance of Ktesikles, son of Olympiodoros, of Potamos both in line 4 and in line 46. He may be the father of that Olympiodoros of Potamos who was councillor in 222/1 (Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 36, line 115; dated by Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxiv). The stone is so preserved that fragments *d* and *e* cannot be combined to give the single reading Ἐλευσινίω[ν] in line 31. Lines 43-44 and 50-51 have been restored with reference to each other, but much of the rest of the restoration is conjectural. On Face B there is mention of the disputants in court (λεγόντ[ω]ν), the votes for acquittal (ψῆφοι πλήρεις), and of the bronze urn for the valid votes (ὁ κύριος). It is not clear whether the references are general or particular in their application.

52 (Plate XXVIII). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the right side and back preserved but otherwise broken, found in the wall of the chapel of St. Charalampos in Section K on February 22, 1934.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.085 m. Height of letters, 0.005 m. Inv. No. I 1374.

The vertical spacing of the lines averages *ca.* 0.011 m.

*ca.* 250 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 40

- [----- ἐφ' ὑγείαι καὶ σω]τ[ηρ]ίαι  
 [τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀ]θηνα[ί]ων κα[ὶ]  
 [τῶν φίλων ἀπάντων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρυτάν]εις τά[ς τε]  
 [θυσίας ἔθυσαν ἀπάσας ὅσαι καθ]ῆκ[ον] ἐπὶ τῆς [πρυ]  
 5 [τανείας καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἐπιμεμέ]ληνται δὲ κα[ὶ]  
 [τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων καθάπερ ἔδοξεν τῶι] δήμῳ εὐκό  
 [σμως καὶ ----- ὅσα αὐτοῖς οἱ τε] νόμοι π[ρ]  
 [οσέταττον καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου· ἐπ]αι[νέσα]ι τ[ο]  
 [ὺς πρυτάνεις τῆς ----- καὶ στεφ]ανῶ[σ]α[ὶ αὐ]  
 10 [τοὺς χρυσῶι στεφάνῳι κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὖσεβείας ἔ]  
 [νεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμ]ία[ς] τ[ῆς εἰ]ς  
 [τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἀναγράψαι] δὲ τόδε τὸ [ψήφ]ι[σ]  
 [μα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυταν]είαν [ἐ]ν σ[τ]ῆ[λ]η  
 [λίθινῃ καὶ στήλῃ ἐν τῶι πρυτανικ]ῶ[ι· εἰ]ς δ[ὲ τὴν]  
 15 [ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τ]εῖ δι[οικη]  
 [σει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα].

The lettering gives an approximate indication of date. Further evidence appears in the use of the perfect tense [ἐπιμεμέ]ληνται of line 5, indicating the third century rather than later,<sup>3</sup> and in the absence of any mention of convening the Council and Demos<sup>4</sup> or of ἀνάθεσις in conjunction with the ἀναγραφὴ of the stele.<sup>5</sup> The tentative date here suggested is about the middle of the third century, with the phrase κα[ὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπάντων] of lines 2-3 taking the place of καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὅσοι [εἰσὶν εὔ]ους τῶι δήμῳ of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 674. The tempting combination of this fragment with the opening lines of Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 20 is proved invalid by a difference in the spacing of the lines, though the two documents are probably close in point of time.

53 (Plate XXVIII). Two small joining fragments of Pentelic marble, which were found in Section H' on February 22, 1934. They preserve part of the right edge of the original stele, and evidently belong to the ends of lines 5-12 of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 766.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 674, line 12 (of 275/4); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 790, lines 19-20 (of 235/4), and Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 29, line 19 (of 228/7).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e. g., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 674.

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 674 and 790.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.015 m. Height of letters, 0.006 m. Inv. No. I 1367.

The writing is not stoichedon, and the vertical spacing of the lines averages about 0.014 m. The text of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 766, lines 5-12, with the addition of the new fragment, reads as follows:

243/2 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 50

- 5 [μ]ητὴν αὐ[τῶν ————— κλέους Εὐωνυμέα καὶ στεφ]ανῶ[σαι]  
αὐτοὺς χρυσ[ῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐταξίας ἔνεκε]ν καὶ φ[ι]  
λοτιμίας ἣν ἔχ[οντες διατελοῦσιν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον <sup>vv</sup> ἐπ]αινέ  
σαι δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδ[οτρίβην Ἑρμόδωρον Ἑορτίου Ἀχα]ρνέα <sup>v</sup>  
καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν [Λυσικλῆν Ἀντιπάτρου Συναλήττιον κα]ὶ τὸν  
10 ὀπλομάχην Χαρίσανδ[ρον ————— Ἀλιμούσιον <sup>vv</sup> καὶ τὸν] τοξό  
την Ἀριστόδημον <sup>vv</sup> κ[αὶ τὸν γραμματέα ————— <sup>vv</sup> κ]αὶ σ  
τεφανῶ[σαι ἕκαστον α[ὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τό]δε τ

The demotic of the hoplomachos in line 10 is known from an earlier Agora text published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 159, and the same demotic should also be supplied, of course, in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 766, line 42: [Ἀλιμούσι]ον. The date of the decree is the year following the archonship of Philoneos, now known to be that of Kydenor and dated by Pritchett and Meritt in 243/2 B.C.<sup>6</sup>

54 (Plate XXVIII). Small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on July 5, 1933, in a stratum of black earth above the classical level of Section H'.

Height, 0.092 m.; width, 0.059 m.; thickness, 0.025 m. Height of letters, 0.006 m. Inv. No. I 1048.

*ca.* 240 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 47

[— — — καὶ στεφανῶσ]αι θαλλ[οῦ στεφάνωι <sup>v</sup> ἀναγράψαι δὲ]  
[τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ]ματέα [τόν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στή]  
[λει λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι π]αρὰ τὸ [Μητρῶιον· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγρα]  
[φὴν μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ δι]οικη[σει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα <sup>vvv</sup>]

*vacat*

The writing is stoichedon with a vertical unit of 0.013 m. and a horizontal unit of 0.011 m. The available space for restoration in line 3 suggests that the stele may have been erected near the Metröon.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), p. 25.



**55** (Plate XXVIII). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken at both sides and at the bottom but with the original thickness preserved, found in Section B on March 14, 1934. The top is dressed with a toothed chisel; the back is rough-picked.

Height, 0.097 m.; width, 0.124 m.; thickness, 0.05 m. Height of letters, 0.007 m. Inv. No. I 1559.

227/6 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[—]ντίδος πρυτάνεις ἀ[νέθεσαν]  
[τῶι] ἥρωι οἱ ἐπὶ Θεοφίλο[υ ἄρχον]  
[τος στεφ]ανωθέντες ὑ[πὸ τῆς]  
[βουλῆς κ]αὶ τοῦ δήμου [ἀρετῆς]  
5 [ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύ]νη[ς]

See No. 42.

**56** (Plate XXIX). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the left side preserved but otherwise broken, found in a modern fill in Section B on February 9, 1934.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.056 m. Height of letters, 0.007 m. Inv. No. I 1299.

The vertical spacing of the lines averages *ca.* 0.011 m.

*ca.* 200 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[— — — <sup>ca. 12</sup> — —]ο[— — — — — — — — — —]  
[— — <sup>ca. 6</sup> — —]σεν[. . .]οι[— — — — —]  
[— — <sup>ca. 6</sup> — —]ι[. . .]λ[. . .]τω[— — — —]  
[. . ἀγ]γ[ελ]λομ[έ]νοις ὑπὸ [— — — — —]  
5 [ . . . ] τοῖς μ[υσ]τικοῖς ἐξ[ροῖς — — —]  
[— — — <sup>ca. 9</sup> — —]ον αὐτοῖς π[— — — —]  
[. . ]ν καὶ περὶ πάντων [τὰς εὐθύνας δεδώκασιν — — — ὅπως ἀν]  
[οῦν] ἐφάμιλλο[ν ἦι τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις — — — —]  
[— — <sup>ca. 6</sup> — —]ειν δ[εδόχθαι τεῖ βουλευῖ — — —]  
10 [— — — <sup>ca. 8</sup> — —]οε[— — — — — — — — — —]

The occurrence in line 8 of the word ἐφάμιλλο[ν] shows this to be part of an honorary decree, and the approximate date is indicated by the character of the writing. If the restoration μ[υσ]τικοῖς in line 5 is correct, the decree may have honored a board of epimeletai of the Mysteries, like *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 847, of approximately the same date. The suggested restorations have been made with reference to that document.

**57** (Plate XXIX). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides and at the back, found in Section H' on July 6, 1933.

Height, 0.062 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.115 m. Height of letters, 0.008 m. and 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 1049.

ca. 200 B.C. (?)

[----- τὸ γενό]μεν[ον ἀνάλωμα]			
I	II	III	IV
-----	----- ον	Θο[ρ----]	[-----]
-----	-----	Ὀλυμ[-----]	[-----]

The inscription may be from a decree honoring the prytaneis of Akamantis or Antiochis (or Demetrias). In line 1 the letters can be suited to the customary last line of the decree proper, while the arrangement of names in columns is clear in lines 2 and 3. The wider spacing of the first line in Col. III suggests a demotic; Θο[ρίκιοι] and Θο[ραϊεῖς] are possible restorations.

This demotic belongs at least as far to the right on the stone as Col. III, because Col. I also must have begun with a demotic and immediately before Θο[ρ----] appears the end of a name with closely spaced letters making impossible the restoration of a demotic there.

58 (Plate XXIX). Small fragment of a decree honoring prytaneis, broken on all sides, found in Section B on March 13, 1934.

Height, 0.076 m.; width, 0.066 m.; thickness, 0.049 m. Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 1553.

The vertical spacing of the lines averages ca. 0.011 m. The writing is not stoichedon, but the horizontal unit may be estimated at ca. 0.012 m.

ca. 200 B.C.

ca. 37

	[-----]παν[-----]
	[-----]στων[-----]
	[-- γραμματέ]α τῆς βο[υλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ----]
	[-----]ς Κυδα[θηναιέα (or -ντίδην) καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα]
5	[-----]στο[----- καὶ τὸν]
	[κήρυκα τῆς βου]λῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ----]

59 (Plate XXIX). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the top and back preserved but otherwise broken, found in a late fill in Section Z on July 1, 1933. The top was dressed with a toothed chisel except for a narrow smoothed band along the front. On the face, below the crowning moulding, is a slightly raised fascia on which were inscribed the first two lines of the inscription.

Height, 0.311 m.; width, 0.346 m.; thickness, 0.098 m. Height of letters, 0.008 m. (lines 1-5) and 0.006 m. (lines 6 ff.).

Inv. No. I 1033.

Second Century B.C.

	[-----]		ὑπογραμματεὺς [-----]
	[-----]		κῆρυξ Κάλλιππο[ς -----]
	[----- τοὺς στρατηγούς τοὺς [ἐπὶ --- ἄρχοντος]		
	[-----] [ἐπὶ τ]οὺς ὀπλίτας [-----]		
5	[-----] [-----] οχάρου Χολαργέα [-----]		
	-----		Δα[-----]
	-----		Εὐ[-----]
	-----	In a wreath	Σκ[-----]
	-----		20 Φ[-----]
10	----- [οἱ τε]τα		Λ[-----]
	----- [γμέν]οι		Λ[-----]
	----- 15 [τοὺς στρ]ατη		-----
	etc. [γ]οὺς		etc.

The inscription appears to be a dedication honoring the generals. The name of the hoplite general is partially preserved in line 5, and I assume that the names of the dedicators were inscribed in two columns (at least) flanking the citation in the center.

**60** (Plate XXIX). Two fragments of Eleusinian limestone. Fragment *a*, broken at the back, at the bottom, and at the right, was found in Section P on May 5, 1936; fragment *b*, with part of the top preserved but otherwise broken, was found in Section B on April 24, 1934. Part of a cutting for a dedication appears in the top surface.

*a*: Height, 0.218 m.; width, 0.147 m.; thickness, 0.22 m. Height of letters, 0.017 m. and 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4121.

*b*: Height, 0.193 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.12 m. Height of letters, 0.017 m. Inv. No. I 1857.

Second Century B.C.

Ἄγνόθ[εος Δημ]οτίωνος Ἀφιδν[αῖος]  
[----- ἐ]ποίησεν

Hagnotheos undoubtedly belonged to the family represented on a marble lekythos of the fourth century by the names Δημοσίων Ἀφιδναῖος and Ἀγνοκρίτη (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5736), but the style of lettering suggests a much later date for the dedication.





These are the regular formulae of a prytany decree. At first sight an association with Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 48, lines 41-43, seemed possible, but the spacing of the letters does not permit the connection.

**63** (Plate XXX). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with part of the rough-picked top preserved, found in Section H' on July 29, 1933.

Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.34 m. Height of letters, 0.015 m. Inv. No. I 1080.

*ca.* 167 B.C.

[Εὐχ<sup>ρ</sup>ειρ Εὐβ]ουλίδου [Κρωπίδης ἐποίησεν]

This is the signature of the sculptor Eucheir (*P.A.*, 6151). Identification and restoration were made by Raubitschek.

**64** (Plates XXX-XXXI). Seven fragments of an opisthographic stele of Hymettian marble. The thickness is fairly uniform (0.13 m.) except where the stone has been badly worn. On the obverse ten lines occupy *ca.* 0.13 m. near the top and *ca.* 0.12 m. near the bottom; the letters (0.007 m. in height) occupy about 0.01 m. each near the top but are somewhat smaller (0.006 m.) and more crowded below. The reverse is so badly worn that no text can be recovered from it. All fragments bear the inventory number I 984.

A. The left side and rough-picked top are preserved. The face has been used as a step and all the upper part worn smooth. The back and side preserve traces of a moulding, hacked away. This fragment joins the top of C and the left of B. It was found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on December 11, 1934. Height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.295 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

B. The top and back are preserved, with mouldings 0.09 m. high across both faces giving a total thickness of 0.15 m. This fragment joins the right of A. It was found in a modern wall in Section I on June 14, 1933. Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.265 m.

C. The left side and back are preserved. This fragment joins A above and E below, and fragment D fits onto its right side. It was found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on December 11, 1934. Height, 0.305 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

D. This minute fragment, which joins C at the left, is broken on all sides and at the back. It was found in a loose fill in Section II on February 22, 1935. Height, 0.035 m.; width, 0.034 m.; thickness, 0.076 m.

E. The left side and back are preserved and the fragment joins the under surface of C. It was found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on December 11, 1934. Height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.241 m.; thickness, 0.129 m.

F and G. These two fragments combine to make one piece, broken on all sides but with the back preserved. There is no join with the other fragments. Both F and G were found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on December 11, 1934. Combined height, 0.405 m.; width, 0.228 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

161/0 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 88

- [ἐπὶ Ἀριστόλα ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς —<sup>4 or 5</sup>—]ίδος τρίτης πρυτανείας (ῆι) Βακ-  
[χύλος Φιλωνίδου Ἐλευσίνιος ἐγραμμάτευεν]  
[Βοηδρομιῶνος ————<sup>ca. 14</sup>——— κατὰ] θεὸν δὲ ἔκτει ἐπὶ δέκα ἔκτει κα[ὶ  
δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία]  
[ἐμ Πειραιεῖ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν] Σῶσος Ἴωνος Φαληρεὺς καὶ σ[υμ-  
πρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ·]  
[—————<sup>ca. 29</sup>—————]ος εἶπεν· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδοχθ[αι τεῖ βουλευεῖ τοὺς  
λαχόντας προέδρους εἰς]  
5 [τὴν κυρίαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ το]ύτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθα[ι  
τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ]  
[βουλευεῖ ἐλέσθαι τὸν δῆμον πέντε ἄνδρ]ας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων οἵτινες μ[ετά  
τε τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ]  
[τοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τοῦ ἀρχι]τέκτονος τοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπισκ[ευῶσιν  
———]  
[———<sup>ca. 27</sup>——— ὁμ]οίως δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῶι ἱε[ρωῖ —————]  
[———<sup>ca. 19</sup>——— ὅπου ἂν ἄλλο]θεν εὐρίσκωσιν τῶν τῆς πόλε[ως —————]  
10 [———<sup>ca. 14</sup>——— κ]αὶ τὰ χρυσὰ τὰ ὑπ[άρ]χοντα τοῖς θεοῖς μέχρι Ποσειδ[ωνίου  
162/1 B.C. ἄρχοντος ————]  
[———<sup>ca. 18</sup>———] πρ[ο]σδεόμενα [κ]ατασκευῆς ὀλοσχεροῦς θείας (?)  
[—————]  
[———<sup>ca. 27</sup>——— τῶι ἱ]ερῶι ποιήσουσιν ἂ ἂν αὐτοῖς φ[αίνεται —————]  
[———<sup>ca. 21</sup>———]μένα [τὰ ἐλ]αφρὰ τῶμ ποτηρίων ἢ τῶν ἄλλ[ων —————]  
[———<sup>ca. 15</sup>———]μενοι πρὸς [τὰς τῶν] συνόδων χρείας καὶ ὅταν σ[—————]  
15 [———<sup>ca. 9</sup>———] ἐναντίον τῆ[ς βουλῆς παρ]αλαβεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ [—————]  
[———<sup>ca. 10</sup>———]ωι· ὁμοίως [δὲ καὶ τὸ νόμι]σ[μα τὸ ἀνακείμενον μέχρι Π]οσει-  
162/1 B.C. δωνίου ἄρχοντος ————]  
[———<sup>ca. 10</sup>———]ΗΗΗΠΙΔΔΔ[———<sup>ca. 12</sup>———]σι γεγονότα ἐκλογισμό[ν ————]  
[———<sup>ca. 10</sup>———] ὑπο[———<sup>ca. 10</sup>——— τῶν ἀν]ατεθηκότων ὅσοι μὴ ε[—————]  
[———<sup>ca. 7</sup>———]σιος [———<sup>ca. 9</sup>———· τὸ δὲ γενόμεν]ον ἀνάλωμα εἷς τε τ[ὴν ἀνα-  
γραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης μερίσαι]  
20 [τὸν γεν]ησόμε[νον ταμίαν (?) καὶ τοὺς στρατη]γοὺς ἀπ[ὸ] νε[—————]  
[ψή]φισμα εἰς στ[ῆλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι] ἐν ἀ[γοραῖ —————]  
[.]ένει ὅσαι ἡμέρ[αι —————]  
τες τὸν ναὸν το[—————]



- Ξενοκλήης ἐκ Κε[ραμέων -----]  
 25 *Less than one line uninscribed*  
 ἐπὶ Ἀριστόλα ἄρ[χοντος ἱερέως δὲ -----]  
 Εὐπυρίδου συμπα[ρόντων -----]  
 νος Ὀλυμπίωνος [- ----- χρυ]  
 σοὶ πέντε ὀβολοὶ τρ[εῖς] [- ----- ἐβδο]  
 30 μήκοντα δύο καὶ α[.]ρα[- -----]  
 τα δέκα ἕξ καὶ ἐλαίας ἕν[δεκα -----]  
 καὶ ἐλαίας ἑπτά· ὀλκ[ή] [- -----]  
 χρυσοῦς ὀβολός· ἡμί[χρυσον ----- τέτ]  
 ταρες ἀνετεθήκει Ἀκ[- ----- Ἀρι]  
 35 στομήδης Ῥαμνούσι[ος -----]  
 κη ἡμίχρυσον ἀνετεθ[ήκει ----- ἀνετε]  
 θήκει Ἡρακλείδης Αλ[- ----- ἀνετεθή]  
 κει Διότιμος Ἀλωπε[κῆθεν -----]  
 τύμβους δύο· ὀλκή· [.]Η· ὀβολ[ ----- Κυζι]  
 40 κηνὸς στεφάνιο[ν οὐ] τὸ ἐ[- <sup>ca. 13</sup> -----] ΡΛ.ΔΙ -----  
 [- <sup>ca. 15</sup> -----] εἰωνας δ[- <sup>ca. 13</sup> -----] λας καταθ[- -----]  
 [.]δύο ὀβολοὶ τρεῖς ὁ κατεσκ[ευάσαντο ἐπὶ Ἀφ]ροδισίου ἄρ[χοντος -----]  
 [δις] χίλους ἑβδομήκοντα τέ[τταρας, τούτων] δὲ εἴκοσι [οὐκ ἐχόντων -----  
 ----- τέττα]  
 [ρ]ες Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τροχίσκ[οι δύο ἔχοντε]ς κιττόφυλλ[α -----]  
 45 σοι δεκαπέντε ἡμίχρυσον ὀβο[λο - <sup>ca. 6</sup> -----] κεφάλαιον χρυ[σὸ -----  
 ----- λοιποὶ ἦ]  
 σαν χρυσοὶ ἕξ ἡμίχρυσον [- -----] *vacat*  
 καὶ τάδε ἀργυρᾶ· κανύλους τ[ετταράκοντ]α δύο καὶ ἐλαίας δέκα [- -----  
 186/5 B.C. ἐπὶ Ζωπύ]  
 180/79 B.C. ρου· ὀλκή· ΗΡΠΠΠ· κανοῦν ἐν[- <sup>ca. 11</sup> -----] ἡν ἐπὶ Διονυσίου· ὀλ[κή·  
 -----]  
 ὀκλή· ΔΔΠΠΠ· φοίνικα· ὀλκή [- <sup>ca. 13</sup> -----] ἡμην μικρά· κατοι[- -----]  
 50 ἦν Δίων Σκαμβωνίδης· [ὀλκή· - <sup>ca. 5</sup> -----] ἄλ] λην λείαν ἦν Ξ[ε]νοκ[-----]  
 ἄλλην ἦν Ξενοκράτης [- <sup>ca. 10</sup> -----] ὀ] λκή· ΔΔΔΔΠΠΠ· [ἄ] λλην [ἦν  
 -----]  
 [ὀ] λκή· ΡΠΠΠ· ἄλλο ὁ Θεόφιλο[ς - <sup>ca. 8</sup> -----] ιος· ὀλκή· ΡΠΠ· ἄ[λλ]ο  
 ὁ [- -----]  
 ἔχον ὁ Σάμος Ἐρχιεύς· [ὀλκή· . . ἄλλο ὁ] Εὐθυκρ[ά]της Ῥ[αμ]νο[ύσιος  
 ----- ἄλ]  
 186/5 B.C. λ(ην) ἐπὶ Ζωπύρου· ὀλ[κή - <sup>ca. 7</sup> -----] ἄλ]λο ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης Δι[ομειεύς·  
 ὀλκή· ----- ἐπὶ]

- 167/6 B.C. Νικοσθένον· ὀλκή· ΠΤΤΤ· [ἄλλο δ̄ — — — — —]ν Σαλαμίνιος· ὀλκή·  
 ΔΔ[— — — — —]  
 Χολλείδης· ὀλκή· ΔΔΔΔ[... ἄλλο δ̄ ..]ννιον· ὀλκή· ΔΔΔΔΠΤ· ἄ[λλο  
 δ̄ — — — — —]  
 Ῥαμνούσιος· ὀλκή· ΗΠ·<sup>v</sup> ἄλ[λο δ̄ ...<sup>7</sup>....]κλής Ῥαμνούσιος· ὀλκή·  
 [— — — — —]  
 κλεία· ὀλκή· ΔΠΤΤΤΤΤΤΤΤ· σφ[— — — — —]ένης· ὀλκή· ΔΔΠΤΤΤΤ·  
 φιάλ[ην — — — — —]  
 [δ̄] Ἀσκληπιάδης· ὀλκή· [... ἄλλο δ̄ Δημή]τριος[ς]· ὀλκή· ΠΠ· Κλέων  
 [— — — — —]  
 60 [κλ]εία· ὀλκή· ΔΠΤΤΤΤ· [— — — — —]η· ὀλκή· ΔΠΤΤΤΤΤ· ἄλλο δ̄  
 Συρί[σκος — — — — —]  
 [... κ]ύαθον δ̄ν Ε[— — — — —] ἄλλον δ̄ν Συρίσκος· ὀλκ[ή·  
 — — — — —]  
 [— — — — —]της· ὀλκή· ΔΔΤΤ· ἄλλον δ̄[ν — — — — —]  
 [— — — — —]ιον δ̄ν Νικοβούλη· δ̄[λκή· — — — — —]  
 uninscribed  
 65 uninscribed  
 uninscribed  
 [ἐπὶ — — — — —] ἄρχοντο[ς] ἱερέως [δ̄] ἐ[ — — — — —]  
 [— — — — —] Κ[ικυννέ[ως — — — — —]  
 — — — — —

Line 1: for ἡ̄ι the stone reads ΙΗ. Line 54: the letters at the beginning of the line are ΑΠΗ.

This decree deals with the repair of a sanctuary and with the reckoning of the resources which the sanctuary affords. The appointment of a commission to work with the priest, the general ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν, and the architect was standard procedure, and the restorations offered in lines 6-7 can be supported, e. g., by reference to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 841, lines 12-15, a decree of similar purport of approximately the same date: ἐλέσθαι τὸν δ[ὲ] ἡ̄μον πέντε ἄνδρας [δύο μὲν | ἐξ Ἀρευναγιτῶν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐξ ἐαυτῶν, οἵτινες μετὰ τοῦ [ἱερέως καὶ | τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευ]ήν καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτον[ος τοῦ ἐπὶ | τὰ ἱερά — — — — —].<sup>7</sup> The offerings to be converted were made part of the inscribed record so that the names of the dedicators and their acts of piety might not be forgotten. This too was the customary practice.<sup>8</sup> In the present instance the inventory was to include items down to the archonship of Poseidonios (lines 10 and 16) in 162/1 B.C. The decree which authorized the inventory and established the

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 840 and 842.

<sup>8</sup> See Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. 61, with references.

commission in charge of repairs was passed early in the following year.<sup>9</sup> But apparently some objects had already been converted in an earlier archonship, and notice is taken of these in line 42: *κατεσκευ[ευσαντο ἐπὶ Ἀφ]ροδισίου ἄρ[χοντος — —]*. The exact form of the verb may be in doubt, but the verb itself and the meaning are clear. The *κατασκευή* was a conversion of dedications to usable wealth, a meaning which is evident (for example) in a decree from the Amphiareion, *I.G.*, VII, 303, lines 39-44: *ἵνα δὲ τ[οῖς ἀναθέουσιν ὑπομνη]θήματα ἢ τῶν ἀναθεμάτων ὅσα μ[έλλει] κατασ[κευασθῆναι, τοὺς] ἱεράρχας στήσαντας ἕκαστον τὸ ἀνάθε[μα ἀναγρά]ψαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην τό τε ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνα[θ]έντος καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἧς ἂν ᾗ καὶ τὴν ὁλκήν τοῦ ἀναθέματος καὶ τοῦ νομίσματος τὸ πλῆθος. In the present text also money (line 16) as well as other dedications was recorded, and items were given their weights and the names of their dedicators. Aphrodisios, in line 42, is a new archon. The nearest year available for him in the archon tables of the second century is 170/69; so I suggest that tentatively he should be placed there. It is the last year of a secretary cycle, and as such an appropriate time for the making of a regular inventory and for converting many of the accumulated dedications.<sup>10</sup> The inventory of this inscription must be considered extraordinary in that it does not come either at the beginning or end of a secretary cycle. Evidently it was occasioned at an abnormal time by the urgent need of repairs.*

In line 1 the name of the secretary may be restored with confidence as *Βακ[χύλος]*. The patronymic and demotic are known from another decree of the archonship of Aristolas, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 952. There the last letter only of the *nomen* is preserved, but the regular spacing of the letters in the opening lines shows that *Βάκχιος* is too short and *Βακχυλίδης* too long. The present text enables one to determine the full name of the secretary as *Βακχύλος Φιλωνίδου Ἐλευσίνιος*, and this form should be restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 952. Of the other men and women named in the new inscription (except the archons) Xenokles from the Kerameikos may with great probability be identified. One of the epheboi of the year of Philoneos (244/3 B.C.) was *Ἰσαρχος Ξε[νοκλ]έους ἐκ Κεραμέ(ων)*; he would have been sixty-eight years old in 194/3 and presumably his son, in turn, was about sixty-eight years old in 161/0. This is probably the *Ξενοκλῆς ἐκ Κε[ραμέων]* of line 24. The commissioners chosen by the demos were apparently elderly men and of distinguished family.

**65** (Plate XXXII). Fragment of gray marble, broken on all sides, found in Section H' on February 12, 1934.

Height, 0.133 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.055 m. Height of letters, 0.007 m. Inv. No. I 1331.

<sup>9</sup> For the significance of such a time sequence, see Pritchett-Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>10</sup> Pritchett-Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-46.



ca. 158 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 67

- [-----]υς σ[-----]  
 [-----] εὐτα[ξίας -----]  
 [-----] δῆμον δεδόσ[θαι ἀνάθημα αὐτοῖς -----]  
 [--- ἐν ᾧ] ἀν τόπωι αἴρω[νται· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους τόν τε]  
 5 [παιδοτρίβην Ἐόρτιον Ἐ]ρμ[ο]δῶρον Ἀχ[αρνέα -----]  
 [-----]υ[-----]

The lettering indicates a date near the middle of the second century, and I suspect that this fragment is part of the ephebic inscription from which several names and two citations (including that of Heortios) have been preserved in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 944b. The restorations have been suggested on the analogy of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 900. For the family of Heortios and the date, see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 302.

66 (Plate XXXII). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the left side and rough-picked back preserved, found in the original fill of the north tower of the Valerian Wall in Section I on July 13, 1946. This fragment, here called J<sup>4</sup>, joins the piece published by Dow in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72, as fragment J. As joined, J and J<sup>4</sup> have the following measurements: Height, 0.53 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.17 m. Height of letters, 0.007-0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 989 a + d.

The inscription to which these fragments belong is the ephebic text published in *Hesperia* last year as No. 41 (pp. 201-213) and dating from 128/7 and 127/6. The new stone makes possible a reconstruction of lines 122-139, giving the end of Decree IV and the whole of Decree V (*loc. cit.*, pp. 209-210). The restorations are modeled after the similar text in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, lines 53-63.

lacuna

[---ca. 6---]θον κ[-----]  
 [..]στείλαι δὲ το[-----]  
 πρὸς πάντας α[-----]

125

One line uninscribed

- V Δάμων Σίμον [----- εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ  
 μετὰ Λυκίσκον παραγενό]  
 μενοι ἐπὶ τὴν [θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Αἰαντείων τήν τε πομπὴν συνέπεμψαν  
 τῶι Αἴαντι, ἐποιήσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐν]  
 τῶι ἀγῶνι ἄμ[ιλλαν τοῖς πλοίοις ----- ὅπως  
 οὖν ἀπάντων]  
 τούτων ὑπάρ[ρχηι αὐτοῖς ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων· δεδόχθαι  
 τῶι δήμωι· ἐπαινέσαι]

- 130 τοὺς ἐφήβου[ς τοὺς ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Λυκίσκον καὶ τὸν κοσ-  
 μ]ητῇ[ν] Ἄ[πο]λλ[ώνιον Ἀπολλωνί]  
 ου Σουνιέα κ[αὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ἀνε]ιπεῖν τὸν  
 στέφανον τοῦτο[ν Διονυ]  
 σίων τῶν ἐν [Σαλαμῖνι τραγωιδῶν τῶι ἀγῶνι· τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ σ]τεφάνου  
 καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως  
 ἐπιμεληθ[ῆναι τὸν στρατ]ηγὸν [καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελητάς· ἐπαινέσαι] δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
 παιδευτάς αὐτῶν τόν τε  
 παιδοτρίβ[ην Νίκωνα] Βηρύτιον κ[αὶ τὸν ὀπλομάχον Σωτάδην Σο]λέα καὶ τὸν  
 ἀκοντιστὴν Νίκανδρον
- 135 Εὐωνυμ[έα καὶ τὸν] τοξότην Πυσ[τίλον Ὀῆθεν καὶ τὸν ἀφέτην Π]εδιέα ἐκ  
 Κεραμέων καὶ τὸν γραμμα  
 τέα Θα[ρρίνον Λ]αμπτρέα καὶ τ[ὸν ὑπηρέτην Ἰέρωνα Ἀναγυρά]σιον καὶ  
 στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλ  
 λοῦ στεφά[νωι·] ἀναγράψαι δὲ τότε τὸ [ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δ]ήμου  
 εἰς <σ>τήλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι <ἐ>ν τῶι  
 τεμένει τοῦ Αἴαντος· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγ[ραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς σ]τήλης  
 μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰ[ς]  
 τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀποτεταγμένων [τῶι δήμωι].

67 (Plate XXXII). Two fragments which join as one from the top of a large stele of Pentelic marble, found in a tower of the Valerian Wall at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos on September 26, 1946. The moulding at the top has been chipped away, and the stone is broken at the bottom. The back is rough-picked and very irregular; the stone tapers slightly in width toward the top.

Height, 0.585 m.; width (below moulding), 0.655 m.; thickness (below moulding), ca. 0.12 m. Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5952.

116/5 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 62-70

Ἄ γ α θ ἦ ι [Τ] ὕ χ η ι

- [Ἐ]πὶ Σαραπίωνος ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνείδος τετάρτης πρυτανείας ἦι Σο  
 φοκλῆς Δημητρίου Ἰφιστιάδης ἐγραμμάτευεν, Πυανοψιδῶνος ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ  
 δέκα, δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳ· τῶν προ  
 5 ἑδρῶν ἐπεψήφισεν Πτολεμαῖος Θεοδότου Φλυνεὺς καὶ συνπρόεδροι ὃ  
 ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ ὃ Ἐξάκων Ἐξάκωντος Παλληνεὺς εἰ ὃ  
 πεν ὃ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐπὶ Μενόιτου ἄρχοντος θύσαντες ταῖς ἐγ  
 γραφαῖς ἐν τῶι πρυτανείῳ ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας μετὰ τε τοῦ κοσμητοῦ καὶ  
 τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων καὶ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δή

- 10 μου προαίρεσιν δαπανήσαντος εἷς τε τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐκ τῶν  
ιδίῳν τοῦ κοσμητοῦ διετέλεσαν πειθαρχοῦντες αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παιδευ<sup>ν</sup>  
ταῖς<sup>ν</sup> ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀπάσας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις τοῦ δή  
μου<sup>ν</sup> ἐποιήσαντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ προέπεμψαν τὸν Ἰακ  
χον ἤραντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς βούς δι' ἐαυτῶν τοῖς Μυστηρίοις καὶ παρέστησαν τῇ Δή  
15 μητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ θῦμα ὡς κάλλιστον, καὶ καλλιερήσαντες διενείμαντο τὰ  
κρέα<sup>ν</sup> ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας θυσίας συνετέλεσαν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ  
τοὺς δρόμους ὡς εὐσχημονέστατα καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας καὶ τὰς πομπὰς ἐπόμ  
πευσαν ἀπάσας<sup>ν</sup> ἀπήντησαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίοις  
εἰσήγαγον δὲ τὴν τε Παλλάδα καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔν τε Πειραιεῖ καὶ ἐν ἄστει καὶ ἐ  
20 βουθέτησαν ἐν ἑκατέραι τῶν πόλεων ἐμ πάσιν τὴν αὐτῶν φιλοτιμίαν ἀποδει  
κνύμενοι<sup>ν</sup> ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις θεοῖς καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμειδι τῇ Μουνυχ[ίαι]  
καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ περιέπλευσαν<sup>ν</sup> ἐποιήσαντο δὲ καὶ τ[ὸν]  
εἰς Σαλαμῖνα πλοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Αἰαντείων καὶ ἔθυσαν [ἐπὶ τ]οῦ τρο[παίου]  
καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἰς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ καλλιερήσαντες ἀνε[στράφησαν εὐτά]κ[τως καὶ]  
25 εὐσχημόνως καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐστεφανώθησαν ὑπὸ [τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σαλα]μνίων [χρυ]  
σῶι στεφάνῳ ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ κοσμητὴς [αὐτῶν Δ]ημήτ[ριος Οὐλιάδ]ου Ἀλωπεκῇ  
θεν ἀνήνεγκαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀριστεία τοῖς [Παν]αθην[αίοι]ς καὶ Ἑλ[ευσινίοις] καὶ  
παρήγαγον  
θῦμα ὡς κάλλιστον<sup>ν</sup> ἀπεδ[είξαντο δὲ] καὶ ἐν τοῖς Θησείοι[ς καὶ Ἐπι]ταφ[ί]οις  
καὶ τῇ βου  
λεῖ κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους [καὶ] τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐν [ἐκάστ]ωι μ[η]νὶ  
ἐποιοῦντο  
30 τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀμίλ[λ]ας τιθέντων αὐτοῖς ἄθλα τῶν γυμ[να]σιάρχων<sup>ν</sup> ἀνέθη  
καν δὲ καὶ φιάλ[ην τε] Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τ[ῶν] θεῶν κα[ὶ]  
βυ]βλία ἑκα  
τὸν εἰς τὴν βυ[βλιοθήκη]ν πρῶτοι κατὰ τὸ ψηφισμα ὃ Θεοδωρίδῃ[ς] Πειραι[εὺς]  
εἶπεν κα[ὶ]  
ὀπλοθήκη[ν σ]πο[υδῆ]ς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθὲν ἐνλείποντες<sup>ν</sup> [δι]ετήρ[ησ]αν δὲ καὶ  
τὴν πρ[ὸς ἀ]λλήλο[υς] ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ<sup>ν</sup> ὅπως οὖν ἢ τε βου  
35 λῇ κα[ὶ ὁ] δῆμος φ[αίν]ονται τιμῶντες τοὺς πειθαρχοῦντα[ς] τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ  
τοῖ[ς ψ]ηφίσμασιν, [ἀγ]αθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ, τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους  
εἰς  
τ[ὴν ἐ]πιούσαν ἐκ[κλη]σίαν χρηματίσα[ι] περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλ[λ]εσ-  
θαι τῆς

For the continuation see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1009.

Line 23: For the restoration [ἐπὶ τ]οῦ τρο[παίου] cf. *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 206, line 22.

The new stone is the upper part of the ephebic stele already published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1009. Its place of discovery is also the same, for the tower at the south end of



the Stoa of Attalos is the site of the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa, near which the earlier fragments were found. The readings of the upper fragment are clear, but several changes must be made in the record of the adjoining fragment, as follows:

Line 25: Σαλα]μινίωv.

Line 27: καὶ ἔλ[ευσινίοις]. The earlier reading is καὶ ἐπ---, but the sloping stroke of lambda is still preserved.

Line 29: καὶ ἐν [ἐκάστ]ωι μ[η]νί. The earlier reading is καὶ τῇ[ν ἐν τ]ῶι μ[η]νί.

The text of the entire inscription is long, and no revised numbering of lines is suggested here. Last year a small piece was published<sup>11</sup> which adds to the text of lines 52-62. There is also a correction to be made in Col. II, line 67, of the list of names. This should be Δωσίθεος Χαρ[. . .] Αἰθαλίδης instead of Δωσίθεος Χαρ[ίου Χ]ολλίδης, and any family connection with Δωσίθεος Χαρῖον Χολλείδης (*P.A.*, 4632) must be denied. Kirchner's note (*ad I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1009) that certain letters in Col. II, lines 64-69, were not seen by Koehler (*I.G.*, II, 465) is erroneous; Koehler's transcript of this fragment is given on p. 239 (*op. cit.*) rather than on p. 240. The restoration [Ν]ικόσ[τ]ρατ[ο]ς Δ[ιο]κλέους Φρεάρρ[ιος] should be made in Col. II, line 71.

**68** (Plate XXXII). Stele of Pentelic marble, broken at top and bottom, found in Section H' on April 18, 1934.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.06 m. Height of letters, 0.016 m.  
Inv. No. I 1828.

ca. 100 B.C.

Α[-----]

Μειλησία

Τειμοκλήους

Ἀλαιέως

5 γυνή

This stone has been published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5500, but without the record of any trace of letters in the first line, and with an erroneous spelling in line 3. The inventory number is as indicated here.

**69** (Plate XXXII). A complete grave stele of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section K on November 10, 1933.

Height, 0.585 m.; width, 0.36 m.; thickness, 0.10 m. Height of letters, 0.023 m.  
Inv. No. I 1130.

ca. 100 B.C.

Δρόμων

<sup>11</sup> *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 213-214.

**70** (Plate XXXIII). Part of a low base of Hymmettian marble, broken at the left and at the back, found in Section K on March 7, 1934. The stone had been re-used (bottom up) as a paving slab in the church of St. Elias.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.98 m.; thickness, 0.39 m. Height of letters, 0.025 m.-0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 1530.

First Century B.C. (?)

[ὁ δῆμος]  
[--- Ἀσκλη]πιάδου

ὁ δῆμος  
Ἀσκληπιάδην Ξένωνος

**71** (Plate XXXIII). Part of a columnar grave monument, found in the wall of a modern house in Section B on December 27, 1933.

Height, 0.181 m.; diameter, 0.211 m. Height of letters, 0.024 m.

Inv. No. I 1116.

First Century B.C.

Ἀ[γ]αθοκλ[ῆς]  
Περιγέιν[ους]  
Μιλ[ήσιος]

**72** (Plate XXXIII). Grave stele of Hymettian marble, broken at the right, found in the wall of a modern house in Section B on November 1, 1933. The back of the stele is rough.

Height, 0.658 m.; width, 0.287 m.; thickness, 0.148 m. Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 1109.

First Century B.C. (?)

(Ἀ)φροδίσιος[ς]

**73** (Plate XXXIII). A block of Hymettian marble, with part of the left side preserved but otherwise broken, found in the wall of a modern house in Section A on January 22, 1934.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.425 m.; thickness, 0.034 m. Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 1225.

Of Roman date (?)

Ἀμίαν  
Δημητρ[ίου]  
Μεγ[---]  
[-----]

The monument seems to have been a dedication honoring the wife or daughter of Demetrios.

**74** (Plate XXXIII). Part of a thin plaque of Pentelic marble, with the back and right side preserved, found in a late fill in Section Z on June 3, 1933.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.109 m.; thickness, 0.034 m. Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 904.

Of Roman date

[ . . ] ο [ . . ] σιον

[E] ὑμόλπον

[Προ]βαλείσιον

[ἡ βουλ]ῇ καὶ

5 [ὁ δῆμος]

-----

-----

-----

The original contained at least two honorary citations, probably more.

**75** (Plate XXXIII). Part of a dedicatory monument, broken except at the left where the surface has been picked with a toothed chisel, found in Section B on March 15, 1934.

Height, 0.255 m.; width, *ca.* 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.172 m. Height of letters: Φ, 0.075 m.; Θ, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 1565.

After 128/9 A.D.

[ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βου]

λῇ [καὶ ἡ βουλῇ τῶν]

᾽Φ᾽ κ[αὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ ᾽Α]

θη[ναίων -----]

5 μ[-----]

**76** (Plate XXXIV). Three fragments of Pentelic marble, which together form part of a monument with both sides preserved and with a trace of moulding at the top. The largest piece (*a*) was found in Section II on May 18, 1938; the right-hand piece (*b*) was found in the same Section on May 9, 1938; and the bottom piece (*c*), long known and last published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4196, was brought into the Museum from the Stoa of Attalos in 1936.



Height, 0.46 m.; width, 0.53 m.; thickness, 0.126 m. Height of letters, *ca.* 0.03 m.-0.035 m. ( $\phi = 0.07$  m.).

Inv. No. I 3511a.

After 128/9 A.D.

ψηφισαμέν[ης]  
 τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείο[υ πά]  
 γου βουλῆς κ[αὶ τῆς]  
 βουλῆς τῶν Φ' [καὶ]  
 5 [τοῦ] δήμου τ[οῦ Ἀθη]  
 [ναίω]ν Κλ' Πρό[κλον]  
 [Κοί]νον ἀνθ[ύπατον]  
 [εὐ]νοίας ἐ[νεκεν]  
 [-----]

The *terminus post quem* for the date is given by the indication in line 4 that the number of councillors, as fixed by the reforms of Hadrian, was five hundred. The name of the proconsul honored cannot be restored with absolute certainty, but he can no longer be identified with L. Claudius Proculus Cornelianus, as suggested by Graindor and restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4196. It seems clear that the first partially preserved letter in line 7 must have been *nu*, for if it were any other letter with a final vertical stroke some part of a bottom horizontal base ought to be visible. And Quintus as a cognomen is not impossible in the second century after Christ.<sup>12</sup> Additional lines may have been lost from the bottom of the monument, one of them perhaps containing the name of the dedicator.

77 (Plate XXXIV). The left side of a herm of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section A on January 22, 1934.

Height, 0.279 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness (not original), 0.104 m. Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 1224.

A.D. 146-165

Ἀγαθῇ [τύχη]  
 [ἐ]πὶ ἄρχον[τος Τιβ. Κλ. Δημο]  
 [σ]τράτου Μ[ελιτέως ἐπὶ τῆς -']  
 πρυτανείας [οἱ πρυτά]  
 5 νεις τ[ῆς] Πτολε[μαῖδος φυλῆς]  
 τιμή[σαν]τες ἐ[αυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς]  
 αἰσίτ[ους] ἀνέγ[ραψαν]  
 [ἐ]πώνυ[μος ---]

For the date see Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 43 and 86.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J. C. Egbert, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 95, and, e. g., the indexes of *I.G.R.R.*



79 (Plate XXXIV). An opisthographic stele of Pentelic marble, represented by three fragments which make up to two.

Fragment *a*, broken on all sides, was found in Section K on March 31, 1934. It has the representation of a leg on Face A, and five letters of an inscription on Face B in addition to one large extraneous letter.

Height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness at the top, 0.035 m., at the bottom, 0.029 m. Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 1734 *a*.

Fragment *b* is made up of two joining pieces, broken on all sides. The upper piece was found in Section K on April 17, 1934; the lower piece was found in Section Θ on March 4, 1936.

Height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.065 m. Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m. Inv. No. I 1734 *b*.

# Face A

## Relief

165/6 A.D.

[ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Σέξ]του Φα[ληρέως ἐπὶ τῆς]  
 [—' πρυτανείας Μ]ουνιχ[ιῶνος μηνὸς οἴ]  
 [πρυτάνεις τῆς] Αἰγῆ[δος τειμήσαντες]  
 [αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰ]σεῖτο[υς ἀνέγραψαν]  
 [ἐπώνυμος ——— 'Α]φροδει[—————]  
 Κολ[λυτεῖς]

Column I	[—]ρσε[———]
missing	[—] ^ [———]

This prytany register of Aigeis may belong to the year 165/6, for the name of the known archon of that year can be restored in line 1. Cf. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 86 for the date.

# Face B

*ca.* 180 A.D.

[Γαργήτιοι]

*lacuna*

Column I  
missing

[ . . . ] νος >  
 [ . . . ] ιος >  
 5 [Ζώσι]μος Βακχyl[ίδου]  
 [ . . . ] κράτης Βακ[χylί]δου



		[Κάρ]πος Ἐπιγόν[ου]
		[Καρ]πόδωρος >
		[...] Ἐρεννιαν[ός]
	10	[Λι]κιν· Ἀρρια[νός]
Column I		[Ε]ῦδοδος Εὐ[- <sup>5</sup> or <sup>6</sup> -]ου
missing		[...]υλλος
		Ἔστι[αιόθεν]
		[Ἦρ]ακλε[---]
	15	Ἐρ[χιεῖς]
		[Ἦ]οῦφο[ς ---]
		[Ε]ῦπορ[----]
		Μην[-----]
		Φι' [-----]
	20	-----

The approximate date of this second register of prytaneis of Aigeis may be determined from the names of some of the men otherwise known. Zosimos, son of Bakchylides (of Gargettos), appears as councillor in the register published in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 48. In the same register also appear Likinios Arrianos (of Gargettos) and Herakleides, son of Soteles (of Hestiaia), who may be identical with [Ἦρ]ακλε[----] named here in line 14.

80 (Plate XXXV). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a late fill in Section Z on June 21, 1933. The inscription is on a slightly convex surface, above which is a flat raised band.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.095 m. Height of letters, 0.016 m. Inv. No. I 998.

168/9 A.D.

[ἐπὶ ἄρχοντ]ος Τ[ιμηίου]  
 [Ποντικο]ῦ Βησ[έως]  
 [οἱ πρυτάνεις τ]ῆς [---]  
 [-- φυλῆς -----]

For the date of the archon, see J. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 86, and J. Notopoulos, *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, p. 52. The restorations were made by Raubitschek.

81 (Plate XXXV). Part of a large cylinder of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a late wall in Section Z on June 20, 1933.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.12 m. Height of letters, 0.01 m. Inv. No. I 996.

ca. 170 A.D.

ἀ γ α θ ῆ [ι                      τ υ χ η ι]

[ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Φλα. Ἀρπαλιανο]υ Στειριέως, [στρατηγούντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας Μαρ.  
 —<sup>ca. 23</sup>—]  
 [ἐπὶ τῆς . πρυτανείας οἱ πρυτ]άνεις τῆς Ἀν[τιοχίδος φυλῆς τιμήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς  
 αἰσίτους ἀνέγραψαν]

I	II	III	IV
-----	Ἀν[αφλύστιοι]	-----	-----
-----	[—]os Ἱερ[-----]	-----	-----

For the date, see J. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 87; P. Graindor, *Chronologie des Archontes Athéniens*, pp. 173-174. Another prytany catalogue of the same year is preserved as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1786.

82 (Plate XXXV). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in a late fill in Section B on February 3, 1934.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.066 m.; thickness, 0.035 m. Height of letters, ca. 0.008 m. Inv. No. I 1264.

ca. 175 A.D.

[... ]ε[-----]	[Τ]ύραννος [-----]
[ιέ]ρεὺς [-----]	[Κ]λύμενος [-----]
[Φ]λ. Σέραπ[-----]	Ἐλευσείν[ιοι]
[Ἀ]φροδείσ[ιος -----]	10 [Δ]ουκάνιο[ς -----]
5 [Ἐ]ρμαγόρ[ας -----]	[Γ]έλλιος >
[Ζ]ώσιμος [-----]	-----

This is apparently part of a list of prytaneis of Hippothontis. For the title of priest (line 2), see, for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1788, lines 12-13: ἱερεὺς Δημήτριος.

83 (Plate XXXV). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found near the surface in Section B on May 1, 1934.

Height, 0.064 m.; width, 0.096 m.; thickness, 0.04 m. Height of letters, ca. 0.014 m. Inv. No. I 1908.

ca. 180 A.D.

[-----] οἱ πρυτ[άνεις]  
 [τῆς Οἰ]νηίδος [φυλῆς]  
 [τιμήσ]αν[τες αὐτοὺς]  
 [καὶ τοὺς αἰσίτους --]

84 (Plate XXXV). Fragment of Hymettian marble, inscribed on two adjacent faces, found in the wall of a modern house in Section B on January 19, 1934.

Height, 0.326 m.; width, 0.164 m.; thickness, 0.126 m. Height of letters, 0.013 m. (Face A) and 0.017 m. (Face B).

Inv. No. I 1118.

ca. 180 A.D.

A

[Νο]ύμμ[ι]ος

[Ἱερο]φάντης

[Φα]ληρεύς

B

Ζώπυ[ρος ---]

Ἀνταῖ[ος ----]

Ἀν[αγυράσιοι]

Σκρεῖβώ[νιος ----]

5 Ἀῖ(λ)ιος [-----]

Ἀπολ[-----]

Ἰούνι[ος ----]

Ἀν· Π[-----]

Ὀνασ[-----]

10 Ἀθην[---]

Πα[μβωτάδαι]

Ὀφε[-----]

[.]σ[-----]

-----

The demotics in lines 3 and 11 of Face B may be restored as belonging to one phyle either as Ἀν[αφλύστιοι] and Πα[λληνεῖς] (Antiochis) or as Ἀν[αγυράσιοι] and Πα[μβωτάδαι] (Erechtheis). Pallene was so populous a deme that it normally began the catalogue in the dedications of Antiochis; so it is preferable to interpret the present text as a catalogue of Erechtheis, where neither Pambotadai nor Anagyrous needs to head the list. The approximate date is given by the name of one of the αἰεῖσιτοι, Νούμμιος Ἱεροφάντης Φαληρεύς. He appears also without the demotic in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1790 and 1806, and was probably the grandson of Νούμμι[ος Μῆνις (?)] (Φαληρεύς) of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1073<sup>20</sup>.

85 (Plate XXXVI). Four fragments of a cylindrical monument, broken on all sides, found in Section B, the first three on March 3, 1934, and the fourth on March 26, 1934. The size of the letters varies, but in most names the normal measurement is ca. 0.01 m.

a: Height, 0.101 m.; width, 0.103 m.; thickness, 0.031 m. Inv. No. I 1435c.

b: Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.174 m.; thickness, 0.088 m. Inv. No. I 1435b.

c: Height, 0.167 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.085 m. Inv. No. I 1435a.

d: Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.157 m.; thickness, 0.087 m. Inv. No. I 1687.



ca. 180 A.D.

[----- οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Κεκρο]πίδος		
[φυλῆς τιμήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ το]ῦς αἰ		
[σίτους ἀνέγραψαν -----]ς		
[-----]νν[--]		
<i>lacuna</i>		
(Col. I)		(Col. II)
5	[Αἰξωνε]ῖς	Σ[-----]
	[Ζωίλος Σέ]ξστου	Δι[-----] 20
	[Μάγνης (?) Σ]έξστου	Ἑρακ[-----]
	[-----]ρος λ	Ἀρτεμ[-----]
		Λεύκιο[ς -----]
		Στατίλ[ιος --]
		<i>vacat</i> 25
		[-----]
		[-----]
		etc.
<i>lacuna</i>		
	[Ἀρισ]τίων Ἀρισ[----]	
10	[Σύ]μφορος λ	
	<i>vacat</i>	
	[Τ]ρινεμαιεῖς	
	[.....]ς λ	
	[.....]ος Διονν[----]	
<i>lacuna</i>		
	[--- <sup>ca. 15</sup> ---]δου	Σ[-----]
15	[--- <sup>ca. 14</sup> ---]ικός	Πρεῖμο[ς -----]
	-----	[Ἀγ]αθο[-----] 30

It is possible that two of the councillors (lines 6 and 7) are the same men who appear also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1790, lines 19 and 20. The demotic in line 5 and the approximate date of the text have been suggested by these names. The relative disposition of fragments *b*, *c*, and *d* is uncertain.

**86** (Plate XXXVI). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the left side and back preserved but otherwise broken, found in Section B on April 21, 1934.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.079 m.; thickness, 0.029 m. Height of letters, 0.009 m. Inv. No. I 1823.

The spacing of the lines averages *ca.* 0.015 m.

ca. 185 A.D.

Στρατηγὸς  
Φιλότειμ[ος]  
Ἀρκεσιδῆ[μον]  
[Ἐλεούσιος]

This document adds another bit of evidence for the career of a prominent Athenian. Philotimos was ephebos in 169/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2097, lines 26-9), Herald of the Council and Demos ca. 180 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1794, line 34), archon ca. 182/3-190/1 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2111/2, line 5), and his name appears in a catalogue of the genos of the Kerykes ca. 200 A.D. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2340, line 6).

87 (Plate XXXVI). An opisthographic fragment of Pentelic marble, with the right side (of Face A) preserved but otherwise broken, found in Section T in May of 1936.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.078 m. Height of letters, 0.01 m. Inv. No. I 4218.

Face A

ca. 190 A.D.

Col. I  
missing

Col. II

[ἱεραύ]λης  
[ . . . ] Ἐπαφρόδε[ι]  
[το]ς  
[γρα]μματεὺς  
5 [Δη]μήτριος  
[ . . . ] εἰονος  
[Γαργ]ήτιος  
vacat  
[----]ηγὸς ὑπ  
10 -----

Face B

177/8 or 188/9 A.D.

[γραμματ]εὺς β[ουλευτῶν ----]  
[γραμ]ματεὺς κ[ατὰ πρυτανείαν ---]  
[ἀντιγ]ραφεὺς Φ[-----]  
[ἱεραύ]λης Σπέ[νδων ----]  
5 [ἱερε]ὺς Φωσφ[όρων ----]  
[ὑπο]γραμμ[ατεὺς ----]  
-----

Face A records ἀείσιτοι hitherto unknown. In Face B the sacred flutist, Spendon, is known from *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 57 (23<sub>s</sub>) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1798<sub>26</sub>. Notopoulos dates the former text in 188/9 and the latter in 177/8.<sup>13</sup>

88 (Plate XXXVII). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the smooth left side preserved, found on April 27, 1934, in a late fill in Section B. This fragment makes a close join with I 1417 (published in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 40, no. 10), and the composite measurements and text are given here.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.107 m.; thickness, 0.037 m. Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m. Inv. Nos. I 1417 and I 1881.

*ca.* 200 A.D., or later

Ἄγαθ[ῆι                      Τύχηι]  
ἐπὶ ἄρχο[ντος ----- τοῦ ----- Μαρθῶ]  
νίου νεω[τέρου, πανηγυριαρχοῦντος --]  
Σαρα[π]ια[κοῦ -----, στρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ]  
τὰ ὅπλα Π[-----]  
οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς ----- φυλῆς ἑαυτοὺς]  
[καὶ τοὺς αἰσίτους ἀνέγραψαν]

The date is indicated by the form of the prescript, in which the name of the archon is followed by that of the hoplite-general (cf., e. g., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1774 and 1830-1832). In the present instance there is an intervening name, as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792. Perhaps Sarapiakos is to be identified with the agonothetes, *ca.* 200 A.D., or later, of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2200. There are several hoplite-generals in this period whose names begin with pi: Π. Αἴλιος Ἰσόχρυσος Παλληνεύς (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1823), Πο. Μουσαῖος Ἀσκληπιάδου Φυλάσιος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3680), and Π. Αἴλιος Ἀπολλώνιος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3688).<sup>14</sup>

89 (Plate XXXVII). The top of a small grave stele of Pentelic marble, found in Section B on March 10, 1934.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.207 m.; thickness, 0.089 m. Height of letters, *ca.* 0.017 m. Inv. No. I 1509.

Θραικίδη[ς]  
χαῖρε

In *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 238 (no. 72), the name after Ἡρώδη[ς ---] was somehow omitted from the transcript. Add Κρατ[---] immediately before Συπ[αλήττιοι]. In the index (p. 257) read Εὐφραγόρας, father of Ἀναξιφῶν; read Akamantis under the entry Θεόδωρος Διονυσίου Κεφαλῆθεν; and read Χολαργεύς as the demotic under the following item. On pp. 258 and 259 the entries (*s. vv.*) should be [Λ]εαγόρ[ης] and Νικο[---].

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

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<sup>13</sup> *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> The suggestions for the date and restoration of this text were kindly communicated to me by James Notopoulos.



## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES XXXVII-XL)

IN THE following pages, seven Attic inscriptions, including one unpublished Epigraphical Museum fragment, are presented. Two ephebe-lists (Nos. 91 and 92) provide new prosopographical information. No. 90 is a dedication made by the prytaneis of an unknown phyle in 327/6 B.C. Portions of the prescripts of three decrees (Nos. 93, 94, and 95) relate to the chronological problems of the first half of the second century B.C. Finally, No. 96 is a fragment of a prytany decree.

**90** (Plate XXXVII). Two joining fragments of a base of Hymettian marble. The left fragment was found on April 29, 1936, in Section KK; the right on February 12, 1937, in Section AA. The back and sides are broken away. The original surfaces are picked smooth and have drafted edges.

Height, 0.082 m.; width (as joined), 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.15 m. Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4081.

a. 327/6

[---]δος πρυτάνεις νικ[ήσαντες ---]  
[---] ἐπὶ Ἡγήμονος ἀρχο[ντος ---]

For similar dedicatory monuments, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2833; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 40; and *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, no. 42. The earliest preserved decree in honor of prytaneis was passed in this same archonship of Hegemon. Akamantis was the phyle praised (no. 1 in S. Dow's *Prytaneis*). The ekklesia, however, might praise several prytanizing phylai within one year; so prytaneis other than those of Akamantis may have been judged victorious in 327/6.<sup>1</sup>

**91** (Plate XXXVIII). Upper right corner of a stele of Hymettian marble, preserving the top and smooth-dressed right side, removed from a Byzantine wall in Section Σ on May 16, 1938. The elaborate mouldings extend along the top and right side.

Height, 0.259 m.; width, 0.225 m.; thickness, 0.171 m. Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5456.

<sup>1</sup> For νικήσαντες, see J. Kirchner *ad I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742.

<i>fin. s. IV a.</i> <sup>2</sup>		non-Στοιχ.	
[ demoticum ] <sup>v</sup>		Οἶναῖοι	
[[ --- -]νου]		Λυσανίας Λυσίππο(ν)	
---	κλέο(νς)	10	Θεογείτων Θεοτίμ[ο](ν)
---	νωνο(ς)	Εὐκλείδης Εὐκλέον(ς)	
5	του	Φιλιστίδης Μενεψεφ	
---	λεο(νς)	Μαραθῶνιοι	
---	ρίων(ος)	Στράτιος Πυθίωνος	
		15	Τιμόθεος Τιμοκλείδ(ον)
			[...κ]ρίτος Φίλωνο(ς)
		---	---

The monuments possessing physical characteristics which most clearly resemble those of our new fragment are the epheboi inscriptions of Leontis, published as *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1918, p. 75, and of Oineis, to be published soon in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII. The former, as in our inscription, lacked any distinctive heading referring to the epheboi.

No similar Aiantid ephebe-list of this period is preserved.<sup>2</sup> Oinoe, the smallest of the six demes of Aiantis, here has four representatives. The man named in line 14 may have been a brother of Pythippos, son of Pythion, of Marathon, who was chairman of the proedroi in 306/5.<sup>3</sup> Two other members of the deme Marathon who were named Timotheos (line 15) are known from fourth-century inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> Another man from this same period is known who had the same *nomen* and patronymic as our Timotheos, but a different demotic.<sup>5</sup> I have not discovered the name *Μενεψεφ* (line 12) in Attic prosopography. The name is not found in W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der gr. Eigennamen*<sup>3</sup>, or in F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*. *Μενέλοφος* is found at Eretria.

**92** (Plate XXXVIII). Two joining fragments of Hymettian marble, each found in the wall of modern houses in Section X. The lower fragment was found on February 6, 1937; the upper on February 23, 1937.

Height (as joined), 0.43 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.162 m. Height of letters, (line 1) 0.12 m.; (lines 2 ff.) 0.005 m.

Inv. No. 4495.

<sup>2</sup> This observation takes into account the doubtful examples of epheboi inscriptions given by A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C.* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 69-70.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 471. For later *Μαραθῶνιοι* bearing the name *Πυθίων*, see J. Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> *P.A.*, 13709, 13710.

<sup>5</sup> *P.A.*, 13707.

c. a. 235

vacat 0.07 m.

οἱ ἐφηβεύσ[αντες ἐπὶ --- ἄρχοντος]

[ --- ]

Καλλ[ίας ..]υῶνος ---

[ 'Ε]ρεχθε[ῖδ]ος

5 Ἀντίδωρος Ε[ὐ]δήμου Ε[ὐ]ωνυμεύς]

Ἀλκέτης [Δι]οῦνσιίου Κ[η]φισιεύς]

Αἰγείδος

[Διοκλ]ῆ[ς] Δ[ρο]μέου Ἐρχι[εύς]

[... ..]μος Φιλίππου ---

10 Εὐθυκράτης Εὐθυμάχο[υ Ἀλαιοεύς]

Πανδιονίδος

Λεωδάμας Ἀριστομάχο[υ ---]

... ..άνη[ς] Διοκλέου[ς ---]

Κάλλ[ι]ππο[ς] Δε[ξι]θέου [---]

15 Δ[εων]τί[δο]ς

[... ..<sup>13</sup>...]ο ---[... ..<sup>13</sup>...]πε ---

[Ἀκαμα]ντ[ίδος]

--- --- ---

Stoichedon order was observed in the greater portion of the register of names, although in the patronymic of line 13 three letters occupy four letter-spaces. Traces on the squeeze would permit the reading of Πλ[ωθεύς] for the demotic in line 9, but the markings are too indistinct to be introduced into the text.

The number of epheboi representing each phyle is very small. The drop in enrolment, as compared with the fourth century, is in conformity with the evidence of other third century epheboi inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> One of the two Macedonian phylai was not represented. This omission may be paralleled by the lack of any epheboi for Antiochis in 244/3<sup>7</sup> and for Oineis and Aiantis in 220/19.<sup>8</sup>

A date *ca.* 235 B.C. for this fragment is suggested on the basis of two prosopographical items. A Dromeas of Erchia, who was contributor to the defense of the city in 247/6,<sup>9</sup> had a son who was ephebos in 237/6.<sup>10</sup> This Dromeas might well be

<sup>6</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665 (269/8); 700 + *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 110-112 (258/7); 681 (249/8); 766 (244/3); 787 (237/6); and *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 192 (220/19). The dates of inscriptions here cited are those given by W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Cambridge, 1940).

<sup>7</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 766.

<sup>8</sup> *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 192.

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 290, line 36.

<sup>10</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 787, line 23. The stemma of this important Erchian family with numerous members bearing the names Diokles and Dromeas is given *sub P.A.*, 4023.



the same as the father of the ephebos of line 8.<sup>11</sup> Secondly, the *Εὐθυκράτης Εὐθυμάχου Αἰγείδος* (line 10), on the basis of reverse name and of identity of phyle, might be the son of *Εὐθύμαχος Εὐθυκράτου* of that part of the deme Halai which belonged to Aigeis. The latter was a member of the boule in 256/5.<sup>12</sup>

For a possible Alketes of Kephisia (line 6), reference may be made to Kirchner's suggested correction in the funerary inscription of unknown date published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6429. Numerous *Κηφισιεύς* bearing the name Dionysios are known.<sup>13</sup>

**93** (Plate XXXVIII). Fragment, discovered in the Epigraphical Museum by Sterling Dow who transmitted a squeeze to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. Eugene Vanderpool kindly supplied a photograph. The stone now bears the E. M. number 454.

Height of letters, 0.005 m. Four lines occupy a vertical space of 0.05 m.

*init. s. II.*

*ca. 39*

[Ἐπὶ <sup>ca. 8</sup>— ἄρχ]οντος ἐπὶ τῆς Δ[— — — δωδε]-  
[κάτης πρυτανείας] ἦι Χαρίνιος Σωκρ[— <sup>ca. 12</sup>— —]  
[ἐγραμμάτευεν· Σ]κιροφοριῶνος ὁ γδ[όει μετ' εἰκάδας,]  
[δευτέραι καὶ εἰκ]οστέ[ι] τῆς πρυτ[ανείας· ἐκκλησία]  
[ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἡ με]τα[χθ]εῖσα ἐκ [Πειραιέως — —]

Of known secretaries only [<sup>ca. 14</sup>—]κράτου Σημαχί[δης] of 195/4<sup>14</sup> and [<sup>ca. 14</sup>—]κράτου Ἰφιστιάδης of 176/5<sup>15</sup> may be suggested as possibly the same as the man named in line 2. The names of many secretaries of this period, however, are not known.

The calendar formula has been restored by equating Skirophorion 23 with Prytany XII 22, for the lacuna at the beginning of line 4 requires the maximum number of letters. Line 5 has been restored according to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 977, lines 3-4.<sup>16</sup> The first letter of the name of the prytanizing tribe (line 1) may be read as alpha or lambda: the alphas of this script were inscribed without a crossbar.

<sup>11</sup> Although Erchia was apparently the most populous of the demes of Aigeis (A. W. Gomme, *Population of Athens*, p. 57), the name Dromeas was not common. If the name [Διοκλ]ῆ[ς], which is restored on the basis of stoichedon order and the frequency of this name within the family, is correct for the *nomen* in line 8 of our fragment, the *nomen* of Diokles' assumed brother in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 787, line 23, might be changed from [Διοκλῆς] to [Δρομέας].

<sup>12</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 678, line 27 (= *Prytaneis*, no. 10).

<sup>13</sup> See *P.A.*, 4189-4191; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1757, lines 12 and 16; 6409; and 6447; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 210.

<sup>14</sup> See W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. 111. For a Socrates of Semachidai, councillor of Antiochis in 169/8, see S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 71, line 80.

<sup>15</sup> See Pritchett and Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>16</sup> For the legal authorization for the change of meeting place, see W. A. McDonald, *Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (Baltimore, 1943), p. 55.

**94** (Plate XXXIX). Fragment of Hymettian marble, preserving the top right corner of a pedimental stele, found on May 20, 1937, in Section OA.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.07 m. Height of letters, 0.005 m.  
Inv. No. I 4900.

Two lines occupy a vertical space of 0.02 m.

a. 177/6

ca. 36

[Ἐπὶ —<sup>8±</sup>— ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς ᾿Α]καμαντίδος τ  
[εἰάρτης(?) πρυτανείας, ἥνι —<sup>7±</sup>—]ης Ἡγήτορος Οἰ-  
[ναῖος ἐγραμμάτευεν· —<sup>7±</sup>— ὦν]ος τ[ετ]ράδι[ . . . ]  
[-----]

This fragment preserves part of the name of a hitherto unknown secretary who on the basis of considerations of script and prosopography may be assigned to the year 177/6 B.C. The writing is of a type prevalent within the period between 185 and 155 B.C.,<sup>17</sup> which might be characterized as tachygraphic, because the effect of the omission of horizontal hastas from the alphas and epsilons, as well as the use of short dashes for omicrons and the loops of rhos and betas, was to produce speed in writing. The father of our secretary is identified as Hegetor son of Aristoboulos of Oinoe who was treasurer of the prytaneis of Ptolemais in 192/1 B.C.<sup>18</sup> and was listed as treasurer of the boule in the inscription published as *Prytaneis*, no. 48 (199-188 B.C.). This identification, which assigns our new secretary to Oinoe A and the phyle Ptolemais (V), seems preferable to the assumption that there was another Hegetor who belonged to that half of the subdivided deme Oinoe which was a part of the phyle Attalis (XII).

The archon Speusippos with the secretary from Phlya (V), displaced from 177/6 B.C.,<sup>19</sup> may now be assigned to 149/8 B.C., or to that year within the period between 157 and 145 for which the phyle Ptolemais provided the secretary. The archonship of the year 165/4 B.C., which also required a secretary from Ptolemais, is securely filled by Pelops. The chief evidence for the date of Speusippos is the style of lettering in the one inscription, *Prytaneis*, no. 65, wherein his name appears. It has already been noted that the letters of this inscription are not by the same hand as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 904, as Dow stated in the original publication.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, *Prytaneis*, no. 65 exhibits a type of lettering which was particularly common in the middle of the second century B.C.<sup>21</sup> The lettering is characterized by a sigma the bottom stroke of which

<sup>17</sup> See W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 123.

<sup>18</sup> *Prytaneis*, no. 49 plus W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.

<sup>19</sup> See W. B. Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List*, pp. 23 and 188; and W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

<sup>20</sup> See W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>21</sup> Examples which exhibit the main features of this style of lettering are: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 907, 947,

begins mid-way of the third hasta, by an epsilon with a vertical hasta which extends above and below the horizontal strokes, by a tau with a horizontal stroke which extends more to the left than to the right of the upright, by an omega in the form of a horse-shoe without feet the left portion of which is frequently lower than the right, by a pi with the horizontal hasta extending beyond the perpendicular strokes, by a fully-formed mu having the four hastas resting on the line, and by a phi which roughly resembles a crossbow. The alphas are sometimes open at the top and exhibit a slightly curving horizontal hasta.<sup>22</sup> This style of lettering is more legible than the distinctive scripts of the preceding fifty years; indeed, many of the letter-forms are characteristic of styles exhibited in the latter part of the fourth century, although there is no effort to imitate stoichedon order.

There is also prosopographical evidence for the redating of Speusippos which rests, however, only on the identity of *nomina*. Meritt, in publishing a new fragment of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 700,<sup>23</sup> noted that the Speusippos of Azenia who was ephebos in 258/7 had a grandson Speusippos who is named, presumably as a young man, in the text of an inscription from the year 183/2 B.C.<sup>24</sup> Dow, commenting on the rarity of the name, posited that Speusippos was of the Azenian family, but suggested that the archon was an elder, homonymous relative of the young man named in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2332.<sup>25</sup> With the year of his archonship removed to 149/8 B.C., it is not necessary to assume an additional Speusippos.

The assignment of Speusippos to the period between 157 and 145 reopens the question of the date of the archonship of Apollodoros with a secretary from the phyle Oineis. Apollodoros had been assigned by Pritchett and Meritt to the year 139/8 B.C.,<sup>26</sup> but the publication in 1941 of a new inscription by Kyparissis and Peek provided evidence that Diokles was rather the eponymous official in this year.<sup>27</sup> In the year 138/7 (archon: Timarchos) an orgeonic decree was passed in honor of an epimeletes who was in office during the archonship of Diokles. Although this decree was not passed until Thargelion, the eleventh Attic month, the natural interpretation is that the two archons held office in direct succession.

948, 953, 960, 961, 962, 968, 981, 987, 988, 1236, 1325, 1326, 1937, 1939, 1940, and 2323, lines 205 ff.; *Prytaneis*, nos. 52 and 74; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 15, IX, 1940, no. 26, and XI, 1942, no. 58. Specimens are exhibited in J. Kirchner's *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum* (Berlin, 1935), nos. 102 and 104. These inscriptions are dated for the most part within the period between 170 and 135 B.C., but the earliest example occurs at the beginning of the century and the latest *ca.* 120 B.C. Dating by style of writing alone can never be very precise, but the epigraphist must attempt to identify distinctive styles of lettering which may be used for the determination of approximate dates. As in the case of the present significant style, one must be prepared to extend any terminal dates.

<sup>22</sup> This script has been discussed by A. Wilhelm (*Urk. dram. Auff.*, pp. 64-65) in connection with the fourth hand of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2323. The first entry by this hand in the *didascaliae* was made in 169/8.

<sup>23</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 110-114.

<sup>25</sup> *Prytaneis*, p. 125.

<sup>24</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2332, line 15.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xxxi.

<sup>27</sup> *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Ath. Abt.*, LXVI (1941), pp. 228-232.



On the basis of this new evidence, Daux and Meritt have simultaneously published articles which offer new dates for the archon Apollodoros, and it is noteworthy that the proposed dates are separated by 48 years. Meritt proposes 151/0, which in turn requires a new tabulation for the tribal arrangement of secretaries within the period 157-145 B.C.<sup>28</sup> Daux, who explained that he lacked photograph or squeeze, suggests 199/8 for Apollodoros, and for the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 978, which would then be displaced from this year, he offers 139/8, the archonship of Diokles.<sup>29</sup> This reassignment creates a real difficulty, because the chairman of the proedroi in this decree appears as undersecretary of the boule and demos in *Prytaneis*, no. 47, and as secretary in *Prytaneis*, no. 48, both of which inscriptions are dated in the first part of the second century.

There are only two items of evidence for the archon Apollodoros who is named in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 973 (Plate XXXIX): the script and the secretary. The script, which exhibits small apices, is characterized by alphas with straight crossbars, omegas which are very open at the bottom, and mus and sigmas without parallel end strokes. More important, the letters are widely spaced and the order is almost stoichedon. For example, in lines 3-6 inclusive, perfect stoichedon order is observed through the thirteenth letter-space. These characteristics suggest a date near, rather than far removed from, 200 B.C. Kirchner dated the inscription after the middle of the second century B.C., because he noted the use of eta without iota in line 5.<sup>30</sup> But mute iota was elsewhere written as adscript in this text; so this one example may be an omission on the part of the stonecutter.

The secretary in the archonship of Apollodoros was from the deme Oe of the phyle Oineis (IX in the period of thirteen phylae before 201/0 B.C.; VII after 200 B.C.). When Daux and Meritt came to examine the possibilities within the range of the second-century secretaries from Oineis, they were confronted with the fact that present tables did not permit this additional secretary and that revisions, which it is unnecessary to reexamine further, would be required. However, Daux favored the year 199/8, and, if we continue our investigation to include the closing years of the third century, it becomes a striking coincidence that in the year 204/3, for which a secretary from Oineis is required, the name of the archon is already known as Apollodoros. It seems reasonable to posit that, when two archons in the same period bear identical names and each requires a secretary from the same tribe, these two be identified unless some evidence is presented in favor of their separation. If we assign *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 973 to the year 204/3 B.C., the character of this year must then be indicated as intercalary, thus avoiding the succession of three ordinary years in present tables.

<sup>28</sup> *A.J.P.*, LXVIII, 1947, pp. 195-198.

<sup>29</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 55-57.

<sup>30</sup> K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup>, p. 67, notes only 5 examples of  $\eta$ , as against 161 for  $\eta\iota$  or  $\epsilon\iota$  in the second century.

The name of the secretary in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 973 is preserved as [<sup>ca. 10</sup>—]νος Ὀῆθεν. The length of the name can be determined within one letter-space, because, as we have noted, the letters were inscribed in almost stoichedon order. To the year of Apollodoros has also been assigned *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 845,<sup>31</sup> in which the partially preserved name of the secretary has been read as follows: [. ]ερος[<sup>ca. 6</sup>—]ρασ[—]. This name occurs in the last preserved line of the stone. The letters ρασ appear very clearly, and they could be part of a patronymic Θράσωνος. However, for a control of the surface of the stone where the letters ερος were read, a photograph is offered in Plate XL. Although the inscription has been edited by many scholars including Pittakys, Koehler, Kirchner, and Wilhelm, this writer is unable to confirm the readings of any of these three letters. What traces remain on the photograph suggest an eta of the word ἥι in which case the *nomen* of the secretary would be of approximately the same length as the *nomen* in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 973. If however, the three letters exist on the stone, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 845 may be assigned to some other year within the period 212-205 B.C.,<sup>32</sup> wherein the names of at least two archons (209/8 and 207/6) are not known.

**95** (Plate XXXIX). Fragment of Hymettian marble found in the wall of a house in Section Ω on October 21, 1937. It preserves the pedimental top with left akroterion, the back, and the left side.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.155 m.; thickness, 0.156 m. Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3804 b.

a. 173/2

ca. 50-53

Ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάν[δρου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς <sup>ca. 10</sup>— — — πρυτανέ]-  
[ία]ς ἥι Αὐτοκ[<sup>ca. 22</sup>— — — ἐγραμμάτευεν· <sup>ca. 6</sup>—ωνος]  
[ἔννι καὶ] νέα[ι, — — — τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία — — — τῶν]  
[προέδρ]ων [ἐπεψήφισεν — — — — —]

The archon Alexandros has been tentatively dated in 173/2 B.C. in accord with the evidence presented in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 280, for which year a secretary from the phyle Hippothontis is required. This inscription gives for the first time part of the *nomen* of the secretary which may be completed as Αὐτοκλείδης, Αὐτοκλῆς, Αὐτοκράτης, or Αὐτοκράτωρ, all attested in Attic prosopography. Noteworthy is the indentation of the text to a distance of 0.03 m. from the left edge of the stone.

**96** (Plate XXXIX). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on March 17, 1936, in a modern fill in Section KK. The marble has a greenish vein.

<sup>31</sup> For the most recent text, see W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-108. The name of the archon is restored as [Ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώ]ρον.

<sup>32</sup> See W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.082 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Height of letters, 0.007 m.  
Inv. No. I 3785.

*c. med. s. II*

*ca. 51*

- [ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ]      *vacat*
- [---- ---- ---- εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ] ὧν ἀπαγγέ[λλουσιν]  
 [οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς ---- ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν ὧν] ἔθνον τὰ π[ρὸ τῶν]  
 [ἐκκλησιῶν τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Προστατηρίῳ καὶ] τεῖ Ἀρτέμι[δι τεῖ]  
 5 [Βουλαίαι καὶ τεῖ Φωσφόρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πά]τριον ἦν· [ἀγαθεῖ]  
 [τύχει δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τ]ὰ γεγρον[ότα ἐν]  
 [τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὑγίαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς τε βουλ]ῆς καὶ [τοῦ δή]-  
 [μου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων]· ἐπε[ιδὴ δὲ]  
 [οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν ἀπάσας τὰς καθηκούσα]ς ἐ[ν τεῖ]  
 10 [πρυτανείαι, -----]

The character of the lettering suggests a date in the middle of the second century B.C.,<sup>33</sup> the formula for the sacrifices a date after 165 B.C.<sup>34</sup> For the centering of the ἔδοξεν-clause, see W. B. Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List*, p. 17.

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<sup>33</sup> See above, pp. 188-189, note 21.

<sup>34</sup> See S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 8-10.



# THE EXCAVATION OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA

1940-46

(PLATES XLI-XLIX)

THE sequence of annual campaigns carried out under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora ran unbroken for ten years, from 1931 through 1940. Already in the summer of 1939, however, as the storm broke in northern Europe, preparations were begun for the safekeeping of the excavation records and finds. Two of the storerooms in the Excavation House on Astero-skopeion Street were reinforced to serve as shelters, safe against anything but a direct hit, for the great bulk of the sculpture and vases. The more precious and valuable small finds were packed in twenty-six wooden boxes which were kept ready for immediate removal in case Greece were invaded. The excavation records were put away, some in a specially strengthened compartment in the Excavation House, the rest in the basement of the Gennadeion Library.

In the Spring of 1940 Greece still maintained her neutrality; the war in the west was in the "phoney" stage, and most of the staff both Greek and American were available for service in Athens. It was decided, therefore, to proceed with the tenth campaign, chiefly with the object of completing the clearance of the site for the permanent museum.<sup>1</sup> This campaign, on a comparatively small scale, was brought to an end after five weeks in order to allow those members of the staff who had to leave Greece to avail themselves of a last opportunity. In the autumn of 1940, as war changed from an impending doom to grim reality in Greece, the twenty-six cases of Agora material were sent for safekeeping to the National Museum.

Of the Agora staff, Mr. Eugene Vanderpool decided to remain in Athens for the duration and did actually live on, with wife and family, until carried off to internment in Germany in November, 1942. During most of these two years Vanderpool was able to visit the Agora regularly and even to carry on with his studies of the black-figured pottery. His services at this time were invaluable inasmuch as he was instrumental in keeping together a skeleton Greek staff, in maintaining a general oversight over the property and in facilitating liaison between the School, the Greek Government, and the authorities of the Occupying Powers. After 15 months of internment in Germany, Vanderpool returned to the United States in March, 1944; came back to Athens on the staff of UNRRA in January, 1945, and rejoined the Agora staff on full time in August, 1946.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 1 ff.

Mr. John Travlos, Architect of the School, after returning from service in the Albanian War, was on hand in Agora and School throughout the war years. After he had completed outstanding work on Agora buildings, Travlos embarked on a comprehensive study of Athens in the early Christian period, with special reference to the ancient buildings such as the Hephaisteion which were converted into Christian churches. This study, it is hoped, will appear in book form. In collaboration with Miss Eurydice Demetrakopoulou of the staff of the Gennadeion Library, Travlos assembled a large series of plans of the city of Athens which will eventually be published in catalogue form and which should be of great interest for anyone concerned with the history of the city in general and of immediate value for the study of the Agora itself.

The regular Greek staff was reduced to the absolute minimum needed for maintaining and guarding the Excavation House and the excavation. Mr. Sophokles Lekkas, Chief Foreman of the enterprise from the beginning, continued in charge of this staff which comprised six other men. It is due very largely to the devotion and ingenuity of these men, and above all of Lekkas, that the property, both ancient and modern, survived intact. Even in peace time and with adequate resources it is no light task to keep in repair the large group of rambling and ill-built private houses that constitute the "Excavation House" on Asteroskopeion Street, nor is it an easy matter to protect a large excavation from the normal ravages of rain and flood and vegetation; to have achieved this at a time when a nail or a board was not to be had and when one was faint with hunger must be regarded as little short of heroic. Some compensation of a practical sort was provided by the excavations since they offered space for gardens and pasturage for sheep, goats and poultry which, especially in the famine winter of 1941-42, spelled the difference between life and death.

The Agora is also under very great obligation to the authorities of the American School for the help constantly rendered during the war years; to the late Mr. A. Adossides and to his successor Mr. A. Kyriakides for facilitating financial and legal arrangements, and to Mr. G. P. Stevens for his guidance in the general administration as also for his technical advice on innumerable problems of maintenance and repair.

Loss and damage to property during the war years were negligible. The finds and records stored in the Excavation House and the Gennadeion Library came through intact. The cases of antiquities sent to the National Museum have been left there pending the return of more stable conditions within Greece. Some damage was caused by the elements in the excavations, notably in the case of the Mycenaean Chamber tomb which had been cleared in 1939 on the north slope of the Areopagus; although both chamber and *dromos* were roofed, the very friable bedrock on exposure to the air crumbled and in part collapsed. It is clear that the only hope of preserving many of the ancient foundations and wall beddings for future generations is to re-inter them with earth as soon as possible after excavation and study.

The Occupying Powers took little interest in the excavations. Representatives of the German Commission for the Protection of Works of Art made several visits, from which neither good nor ill resulted. The only recorded losses from the excavation are two of the small heads from the cuirass of the marble statue of Hadrian found to the east of the Metroön,<sup>2</sup> and a marble statuette of a crouching child, perhaps the infant Herakles strangling the serpents, which had been left where found, built into a late wall on the west slope of the Areopagus.

The "December Troubles" of 1944 threatened for a time to be more destructive than the war years proper to the Agora as to so much else in Greece. A group of "Party X" (extreme rightists) took up their position on the top of Kolonos Agoraios, and built themselves a breastwork of marbles dragged out from the interior of the Hephaisteion. They were assailed by their opponents, a detachment of EAM, from positions on the opposite (eastern) edge of the excavations. In consequence the temple walls and columns are scarred by a few more pits from small-arms fire (in addition to the many inflicted during Turkish times), and the Excavation House was struck repeatedly by rifle bullets, but no serious harm was done either to life or property. As the Civil War continued through mid-winter and the citizens became desperate for fuel, the board fences around the excavated areas rapidly melted away; they were subsequently replaced with barbed wire supplied and erected by the Greek Army.

#### IN MEMORIAM

Although the Agora fared lightly in material damage, it has suffered grievous personal losses during the war years. Dr. Theodore Leslie Shear died on July 3, 1945, of a heart condition aggravated by the exertions he persisted in making on behalf of the Greek War Relief. Field Director from the beginning, he had guided the enterprise to within sight of completion. By a rare combination of vision, courage and administrative ability he succeeded in mastering the problems and in exploiting to the full the possibilities of an excavation unmatched in Greece for historical interest as also for technical difficulty. Those who served under him will remember, besides, his kindness and wisdom in personal relations which kept the Agora staff a harmonious and a happy group. Tragic though it was that he should not have seen the undertaking through, the great achievement was his, and those who seek his monument in Athens need but look around.

One of Dr. Shear's earliest and ablest associates passed away on October 9th, 1942, in the person of Mr. A. Adossides. As Business Manager for the Agora Commission he had maintained liaison between the School, the Greek Government and the City of Athens in the involved negotiations that preceded the passage of the law under which the undertaking has been carried out, as well as in the handling of the multi-

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 178 ff.



farious problems that arose in the course of the work. It was his task to negotiate for the purchase of the 365 separate pieces of property that constituted the area to be excavated. This problem was tremendously aggravated by the pressure of the refugee population, yet by dint of skilful and patient negotiation the real-estate was acquired on terms satisfactory both to the School and to the property holders. The Agora is grateful to the memory of Adossides for this and for much more: the members of the staff, and particularly those from abroad, will remember him both as a warm and helpful personal friend, and as the very type of the Greek gentleman: *καλὸς καὶγαθός*.

One more gap in the ranks must be noted: George Delleas died in his home village of Delphi, November, 1940. Already a veteran in the service of the School, having dug at Corinth, Eutresis, Kolophon, Delleas came to the Agora in 1932 and served as a foreman through the season of 1940. A character richly compounded of violence

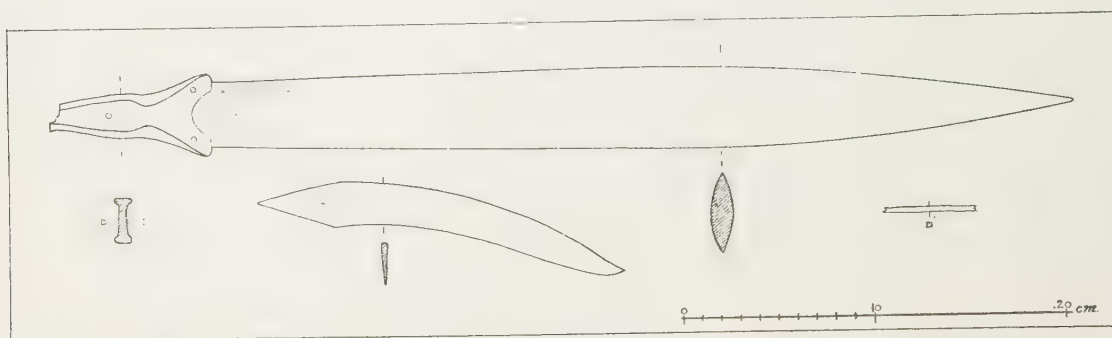


Fig. 1. Iron Sword, Knife and Pin from Geometric Burial

and warm affection, of independent mind and personal loyalty, of shrewd judgment and simple ways, he made Aristophanes credible and himself beloved of all those with whom he worked.

### BURIAL OF GEOMETRIC PERIOD

Of the chance discoveries made during the war years, the most important was a burial of the early Geometric period on the northeastern slope of the Areopagus, just to the west of the Panathenaic Way. Brought to light by the winter's rain, it was detected by the Chief Foreman's child in the side of a pit of the Turkish period that had been cleared already in 1938. The grave was opened in January, 1944, and proved to be the cremation burial of a warrior. Though much disturbed by intrusions, the furnishings have probably all survived in whole or in part (Plate XLI, 1-2, and Fig. 1).

The ash receptacle, a large amphora, was found standing upright, its neck and mouth broken and telescoped into the body. Fragments of a shallow two-handled bowl which may have served to close the large jar were also found within it, while the upper

part of a smaller amphora lay alongside.<sup>3</sup> Leaning against the large amphora was an iron sword, an iron knife, and a small fragment of iron, probably the shaft of a pin, retaining a trace of a knob in the oxidation.<sup>4</sup>

The style of the geometric decoration on the vases, almost confined to the maeander, and the type of the sword would suggest a date early in the Geometric period, probably the ninth century. This burial takes its place as the easternmost yet found in the scattered cemetery of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods which has now been attested by successive discoveries all along the northern slopes of the Areopagus.<sup>5</sup>

#### SEASON OF 1946

Despite the unsettled state of Greece and many practical difficulties, it was deemed advisable to renew the Agora Excavations in 1946 in order to make available as soon as possible the accumulated results of the first ten years' work, to convert the huge area in the heart of the city from an eyesore and a menace to health into a place of beauty, and to forestall the possible dispersion of the old and experienced staff, both Greek and American. Although the Greek Government had adopted the policy of permitting no excavation on a large scale while the staff of their own Archaeological Service was seriously depleted, permission was granted for the resumption of work on the understanding that it be confined to the study of buildings already excavated and that not more than twenty workmen be employed at one time. For this accommodation we are indebted to the long-standing good will of Professor A. D. Keramopoulos, head of the Archaeological Section of the Ministry of Education, and to the Archaeological Council. We must also express our gratitude to Mr. John Meliades, Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, for the interest both official and personal which he showed throughout the season.

The Agora was extremely fortunate in being able to resume its activities after the long break with so large a proportion of its old staff intact. Miss Margaret Crosby,

<sup>3</sup> Large amphora (P 17079): height 0.783 m., diameter 0.43 m. Small amphora (P 17080): height 0.177 m., as restored. Bowl (P 17081): height 0.067 m., diameter 0.198 m.

<sup>4</sup> Sword (IL 841): length 0.555 m.; maximum width 0.04 m. The blade is very slightly leaf-shaped; the edges of the tang are flanged to grip the (missing) hilt which was further secured by three bronze rivets. Traces of a wooden sheath remain on the blade. In type the sword finds close parallels in the Protogeometric urn burials at the Dipylon (*Kerameikos, Ergebnisse*, I, p. 106, fig. 8, pl. 76; and pp. 172 ff., 220 ff.) and in early Geometric burials at the same site (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 297; XVIII, 1893, p. 108).

Knife (IL 842): length 0.20 m. Cf. an iron knife found in a Protogeometric burial at the Dipylon (*Kerameikos, Ergebnisse*, I, p. 100, Grave A), and a couple from late Geometric graves to the south of the Tholos (Young, *Hesperia*, Supplement II, p. 104, fig. 73).

Pin (IL 843): length preserved 0.047 m.; thickness 0.003 m.; square in section. Knobbed iron pins occurred in several Protogeometric burials at the Dipylon (*Kerameikos, Ergebnisse*, I, pl. 76).

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 468 ff.; IX, 1940, pp. 271 f., 291 ff.; X, 1941, p. 7.

Mr. Rodney S. Young and the undersigned all reached Athens on May 16th, and devoted their full time to the excavation throughout the season. Mr. John Travlos, Architect of the School, also gave his full time to the Agora for the duration of the Campaign. Miss M. Alison Frantz, although in the employ of the State Department, has been able to attend to our photographic needs, with the skilled assistance of a Greek employee. Mr. Eugene Vanderpool divided his time in the early part of the season between UNRRA and the Agora, later returning to the Agora full time. Mr. Arthur W. Parsons, who had been serving as Special Assistant to the United States Ambassador to Greece, resumed his position in the School and commenced work in the Agora at the beginning of July.

In the temporary absence of Miss Lucy Talcott, Miss Margaret Crosby attended to the records in addition to supervising the outdoor work noted below.

Mr. Sophokles Lekkas carried on as Chief Foreman; his energy, enthusiasm and loyalty to the interests of the School were heightened, if that were possible, by the grim war years. Our former sub-foremen, carpenters, guards and clerical assistants have either continued in service or resumed their old positions; this continuity has contributed greatly to the smooth and economical running of the enterprise.

Practically all of the twenty workmen employed were experienced hands of pre-war days. Although they were grateful for the employment and interested in their work, the long years of under-nourishment had very appreciably impaired their physique, while the precarious state of their financial and social situation kept their minds uneasy and made absenteeism much more of a problem than in pre-war days. The basic wage paid was at first 7,000 drachmai per day, later raised to 8,500 drachmai, the official rate of exchange being 5,000 drachmai to the U. S. dollar. This is to be compared with a basic wage of 70 drachmai immediately before the war, the rate then being around 100 drachmai to the dollar.

The excavation season ran for 13 weeks from May 20th to August 17th. Work was concentrated on the following areas: the Altar of the Twelve Gods, the Odeion, the Library of Pantainos and the site for the permanent Museum to the west of the Areopagus. A start was made on exposing the west end of the Middle Stoa, and the exploration of a small area on the north slope of the Areopagus was completed in order to permit the dumping of earth. A model of the buildings on the west side of the square, begun already in 1944, was finished under the supervision of Mr. John Travlos. The principal results of these activities will be discussed below *seriatim*.

#### ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GODS (Plate XLIX)

The Peribolos of the Twelve Gods first appeared in the current excavations in 1934 and its identification was established at the same time from the inscription on the base of a statue dedicated by Leagros to the Twelve Gods; this base was found



*in situ* at the west side of the enclosure.<sup>6</sup> As the market square was opened up in subsequent seasons, it became increasingly clear that the choice of the Altar as a central milestone for the road system of Attica was thoroughly justified by the strategic position it occupied at the junction of several important thoroughfares. In order to elucidate the relation between the Altar and these roads, and also to secure more evidence for the history and the scheme of the monument itself, it was decided to complete the exploration and study of the structure. This work was undertaken by Miss Margaret Crosby who will publish a detailed account of her conclusions in a forthcoming number of *Hesperia*.

One of the most gratifying results of the closer examination of the site was the discovery of several fragments of poros from the original altar itself; they are of fine workmanship and of monumental proportions. It is now possible, moreover, to restore the enclosing parapet in greater detail. In its original form the parapet apparently consisted of a series of stone posts with stone capping course and thin orthostates between the posts. Subsequently the parapet was completely rebuilt, although the scheme and overall dimensions were kept very much as in the beginning; a stone paving was also inserted.

The results of the excavation agree fully with Thucydides' ascription of the foundation of the Altar to the younger Peisistratos during his archonship, presumably before 510 B.C. The reconstruction has been dated to the third quarter of the fifth century from the character of the workmanship and from the little pottery to be associated with the re-building. A re-consideration of all the evidence now available lends support to a suggestion made long ago by Wilamowitz that Pausanias (I, 17) referred to the altar not as that of the Twelve Gods but as that of Pity.

A surprising by-product of the exploration of the Altar was the discovery to the west of it, in a fifth-century level, of the archaic poros lion's head discussed below, p. 207.

The evidence for the study of the Altar is not yet completely exhausted: the eventual exploration of the deeper levels in the environs will certainly reveal the bases of neighbouring monuments and may well produce more fragments of stonework from the altar or its parapet.

#### WEST END OF MIDDLE STOA

The small house on Eponymon Street, occupied for several years by the late Dr. Shear as dwelling and office, had become one of the familiar landmarks of the Agora, rising high in the very midst of the excavations and signalized further by the gnarled old pine tree that shaded its courtyard. The progress of the excavation, however, had shown that the house and the tongue of street left to serve it overlay the

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 355 ff.

southwestern corner of the Agora proper and prevented the study of both the Middle Stoa and the early fountain house to the south of the Stoa. The house was therefore demolished and a start on clearing the area was made under the direction of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool.

The excavation was much impeded by the narrowness of the area, by the amount of stone in the foundation of the modern house and by the fewness of the workmen available. In consequence the ancient levels were reached only over a very limited area. A little more was exposed, however, of the north wall of a small building that was set against the terrace wall of the Middle Stoa near its west end in the early Roman period.<sup>7</sup> One room of this building had appeared in 1933; part of an adjoining room to the west of the first has now been cleared. Against the north front of this second room stands a roughly built pedestal consisting of two courses of heavy poros blocks (Plate XLII, 2). In the top of the pedestal is cut a deep channel of the kind commonly intended for the reception of stelai. Here stood side by side two large orthostates of Pentelic marble that were found near by, one, practically complete, in the season of 1946, the other, of which only a small corner remains, in 1933.<sup>8</sup> On the outer faces of the orthostates representations of Laconian roof tiles were worked in high relief and to actual scale. The more complete slab shows a pan tile ( $0.98 \times 0.49$  m.) and a cover tile ( $0.845 \times 0.24$  m.), while the neighbouring slab retains only the corner of a pan tile.

Comparison with a similar monument from Assos leaves no doubt that we have to do with a set of standards for the making of terracotta roof tiles.<sup>9</sup> Actual tiles found elsewhere in the excavations correspond satisfactorily in both shape and size. This identification is suggestive of the purpose of the building before which the orthostates stood. Directly across the road to the west stood the Tholos in which, we know, was kept a set of official weights and measures. May not the newly found building have been intended to supplement the Tholos, providing additional office space for civic purposes?

### ODEION

The season of 1934 had revealed the southwest corner of a large building in the very middle of the ancient square; by the close of the following season the building had been almost completely cleared and was recognized from its scheme and its position as "the theatre which they call the Odeion" mentioned by Pausanias (Plate XLIX). In

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 324.

<sup>8</sup> The more complete block measures 1.44 m. high, 0.975 m. wide, and 0.25 m. thick. The right edge and top are finished for exposure and show weathering, the left side has anathyrosis corresponding with that on the right edge of the second block. The back of the orthostate toward the bottom was cut away so as to permit of insertion in the channel; the weather line on the face of the block corresponds in height with the depth of the channel.

<sup>9</sup> Clarke, Bacon, Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos*, Cambridge, 1902, pp. 71, 73. I owe the reference to Professor G. P. Stevens.

1939 the final exploration of the building was begun with a view to its definitive study.<sup>10</sup> After the interruption of the war years, this work was resumed in the summer of 1946 under the direction of the undersigned. The remaining masses of late Roman accumulation were removed from the area of the building; the pre-Odeion stratification was examined both inside and outside its limits and the marble floor of the orchestra was conserved. Many of the extremely fragmentary marbles from the superstructure of the Odeion were extracted from the concrete foundations of the late Roman building that overlay the site and from the great heaps of miscellaneous blocks found in the course of excavation. A good start was made on the preparation of plans and drawings for publication. A detailed study of the building will appear shortly in *Hesperia*, so that only a brief summary is required here.

The building was skilfully placed: it lay precisely on the north to south axis of the square; its principal façade, the northern, appeared to splendid advantage to one approaching by the Panathenaic Way; it exploited the older Middle Stoa as a magnificent out-doors promenade (Plate XLIII, 1).

In its original form the auditorium was square with an open span of *ca.* 25 metres completely free of interior supports and with a seating capacity of about 1,000. Its long narrow stage was undoubtedly adequate for the musical performances for which the building was primarily intended. Through a narrow lobby at the back of the auditorium there was ready communication with the terrace of the Middle Stoa; access to the *skene* was provided by a small tetrastyle porch at the middle of the north façade. The central part of the building comprising the auditorium and lobby rose two storeys in height; the towering walls of the second storey were panelled by Corinthian pilasters. On all four sides this central core was surrounded by a structure of lesser scale which provided for the *skene* toward the north and for corridors in two storeys on the other three sides; the roof of this outer part rose only to the top of the lower storey of the inner part.

The whole building was certainly roofed, but the original design was perhaps over-daring, for the roof eventually collapsed, doing serious damage to the benches and orchestra floor. In the course of reconstruction the maximum roof span was reduced from *ca.* 25 to *ca.* 17½ metres by moving the cross-wall between auditorium and lobby closer to the stage, thus halving the seating capacity.<sup>11</sup> Radical changes were also effected in the north façade of the building: the small porch was demolished; the north wall was opened up and approached by a series of seven marble stairways separated by statue bases; the "Giants," who were re-used in late Roman times in the so-called "Stoa of the Giants," were originally carved for the Odeion and were incorporated in the north façade of the building.

The original construction dates from the Augustan period; the various alterations

<sup>10</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 362 f.; V, 1936, pp. 6 ff.; IX, 1940, pp. 304 f.

<sup>11</sup> The restored plan on Plate XLIX shows the building in its final form.



noted above occurred in the first and second centuries after Christ; the final destruction came by fire at the time of the sack by the Herulians (A.D. 267) and most of the stonework was soon thereafter carried away to be used in the construction of the "Valerian Wall."

In a search for interior supports within the auditorium, bedrock was thoroughly scraped over the whole area. The hunt yielded no supports but it did bring to light interesting evidence of early habitation: a well of the Submycenaean and Proto-geometric Periods (11th-10th centuries); a rough pit packed with pottery of the late Geometric Period (8th Century), and a well that yielded much fragmentary pottery of the late seventh century. Specimens of these various groups are illustrated on Plate XLVI, 2-4.

The new evidence fits in admirably with that gathered in previous seasons for the reconstruction of the early history of this central area. For the Mycenaean period there is no indication of habitation; this was then an area of scattered burials of which two have been found immediately to the south of the Odeion, a third to the northwest.<sup>12</sup> That habitation had begun in the Submycenaean period is proven by the well beneath the Odeion; its continuance in the Protogeometric Period is proven by the same well and by two other wells of Protogeometric date cleared in 1934 to the west of the building.<sup>13</sup> Another well explored in 1935 to the northwest of the Odeion carries us down into the early Geometric period.<sup>14</sup> The late Geometric period is represented by this season's well beneath the Odeion. For the seventh century we have not only the newly found well group beneath the Odeion but also a mass of pottery from a closely contemporary well cleared in 1938 to the north of the Odeion.<sup>15</sup> With the beginning of the sixth century the series of wells and household deposits breaks off; the area was evidently coming to be used as a public place.

#### LIBRARY OF PANTAINOS (Plates XLIV and XLIX)

In resuming the study of the Library of Pantainos Mr. Parsons returned to an area in which he had worked repeatedly since 1933.<sup>16</sup> In the course of the summer of 1946 he examined the little ancient accumulation that remained; recovered the scheme of the library in greater detail and worked out its relations with the neighbouring structures. The principal results of this investigation will be evident from the restoration of the ground plan which appears on Plate XLIX and from the elevation on Plate XLIV. Parsons is preparing a detailed general study of the building and in the mean-

<sup>12</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 318 ff.; V, 1936, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 362 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 33.

<sup>15</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 212.

<sup>16</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 330 ff.; IX, 1940, p. 295.

time has produced a special note<sup>17</sup> on the donor, Titus Flavius Pantainos, who, as recorded in the inscription on the lintel of the principal doorway, dedicated "the outer colonnades, the peristyle, the library with its books and all its decorations," in or about the year A.D. 100.

It will be apparent from the general plan (Plate XLIX) that a large and important part of the building falls outside the area of the current excavations. Some assistance in the restoration of this part has been gotten from the records of a small excavation made by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1879;<sup>18</sup> but the complete restoration must await the eastward extension of the major excavation. Meanwhile this much is clear: the building comprised a series of rooms of various sizes grouped around a peristyle court; a porch of nine Ionic columns flanked the Panathenaic Way, a second porch of seven Ionic columns adjoined the passageway between the Library and the Stoa of Attalos, and a third porch adorned the eastward continuation of the same road. The analogy of other libraries of the Roman period, such as that of Hadrian in Athens and of Rogatianus at Timgad would suggest that the principal room faced on the central court from the side opposite to the main entrance; it would thus lie outside the present excavation. The plan (Plate XLIX) shows that several of the small rooms on the west and north sides had no direct communication with the central court; they may have been rented as shops in a way reminiscent of the public baths in Pompeii.

The arch adorned with a fountain that spans the passage between the southeast corner of the Stoa of Attalos and the Library would seem to be contemporary with the Library; so too the great square monument base that stands at the west end of the same passage. Arch and monument base tend to close in and define the area between the two major buildings, making of it a small plaza that goes closely with the Library. It is to be noted that a flight of steps led into the area from the Panathenaic Way, so that this important exit from the ancient agora to parts eastward was not available to wheeled traffic.

## AREA TO WEST OF THE AREOPAGUS: MUSEUM SITE

(Plate XLIII, 2, and Fig. 2)

In 1939 work was begun on the clearing of a large area to the west of the Areopagus, primarily with a view to building there the permanent Agora Museum.<sup>19</sup> For this purpose the site has much to recommend it: though it lies outside the Agora square proper, it is nevertheless within easy reach and view of the main area of excavation;

<sup>17</sup> This article will appear in the Shear Memorial Supplement of *Hesperia*. The inscription is published by Meritt in *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 233.

<sup>18</sup> *Πρακτικά*, 1879-80, pp. 15-17.

<sup>19</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 300 ff.; X, 1941, pp. 1 ff.

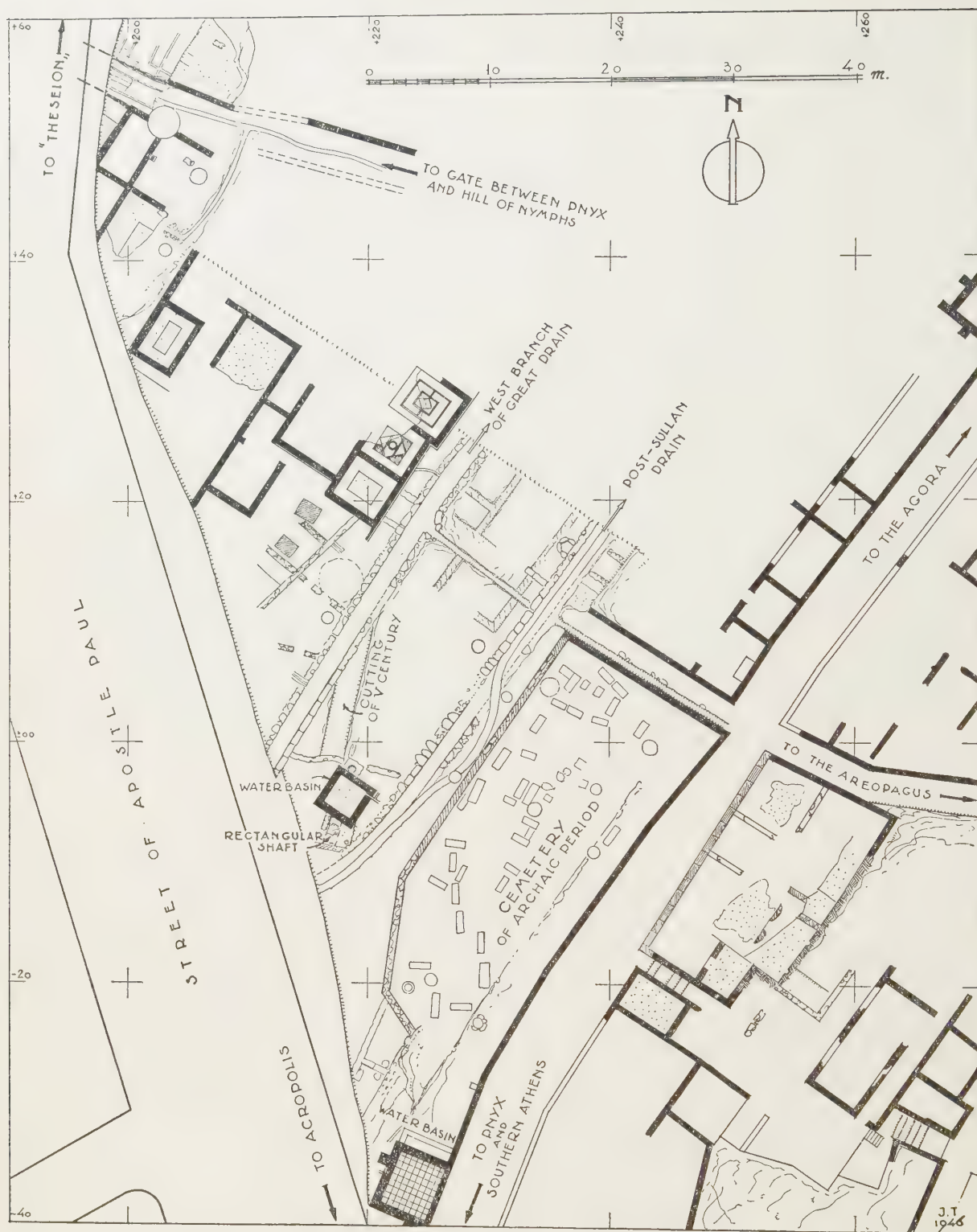


Fig. 2. Plan of Southern Part of Museum Site, to West of Areopagus



it is readily accessible from the modern thoroughfare which runs between the Hephaisteion and Acropolis and which is therefore almost inevitably travelled by all visitors to Athens; at the same time the ancient levels are so low that the modern building need not rise above the level of the adjoining modern streets and so need not interfere with the view of either the hills or ancient buildings.

Since, however, the area consists chiefly of the hollow between the Areopagus, the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx, it had been overlaid by an enormous accumulation of earth washed down from those neighbouring hills, this accumulation attaining a maximum depth of over 11 metres in the middle of the valley. The clearing has therefore gone slowly. Though the seasons of 1939 and 1940 were largely devoted to it, a very great mass of earth still remained. In anticipation of an early start on the construction of the Museum, it was decided in the summer of 1946 to complete the exploration and study of the southern part of the area which had already been exposed. The work was directed by Mr. Rodney Young who has become the recognized authority on this area; the following notes are based largely on his summary of the season's results.

The history of the ancient roads and drains in the area has been clarified by the past season's work. A very considerable amount of water from the slopes of the Areopagus, Pnyx, and Hill of the Nymphs found its natural escape northward along the bottom of the intervening valley. As early as the second half of the fifth century this was provided for by the cutting of an open channel, apparently unwallled, in the soft bedrock. Early in the fourth century the course of this channel was somewhat altered and its walls were lined with stone masonry which varies so much in material and workmanship as to suggest that the work was done piecemeal by the owners of the adjacent property. The substantial drain thus formed proceeded northward to empty into the great central cloaca of the Agora square which appears to date from the latter part of the sixth century. The southwestern branch continued in use until the sack by Sulla (86 B.C.) at which time the ancient channel became choked with sand and was abandoned, to be replaced later by various less substantial channels at higher levels.

There is no trace, and indeed no place for a road of any consequence at the bottom of the valley. It becomes increasingly apparent that the principal thoroughfare leading out of the southwestern corner of the Agora avoided the valley and climbed by a gentle and uniform gradient around the western shoulder of the Areopagus, passing the early fountain house (the Enneakrounos?) and leading into the area excavated in the 90's of last century by the German Archaeological Institute to the south of the Areopagus. Enough of this road has been exposed in the current excavations to make its course certain, and its practicability has been demonstrated by the fact that it has now been rebuilt in part and is once more in use.

In the bottom of the valley, to either side of the Great Drain, have been found numerous though tenuous remains of private houses and shops dating from the fifth

century B.C. into late Roman times. The excavation has permitted occasional glimpses into the life of the residents. Thus in a well at the very foot of the Areopagus at the level of the second century B.C. were found numerous fragmentary figurines of terracotta and moulds for the making of the same, obviously rubbish thrown out of a coroplast's workshop and a continuation of a deposit found in 1939. From another well were recovered a number of fragmentary marble basins, some of them unfinished and hence likewise to be regarded as waste from a local shop.

Another small establishment that rose between the Great Drain and the foot of the Areopagus was remarkable for the elaborate provisions made for its water supply and for the long continuity of its history (Plate XLIII, 3). In the early fourth century before Christ a rectangular shaft,  $3.65 \times 1.30$  m. in cross section, was sunk to a depth of 6.45 m. in the soft bedrock. The upper part of the shaft was curbed with massive conglomerate blocks and its mouth was closed by stone cover slabs save for a drawhole at the south end. A huge cave which opens off the shaft near its bottom would seem to be part of the original scheme and was intended no doubt to supplement the storage capacity of the shaft proper. A round well that goes down through the floor of the chamber proper to a total depth of 24.85 m. was found to be curbed with tiles of the Roman period and yielded pottery exclusively of that time; it may, therefore, be thought of as an addition to the original scheme.

The purpose of the great shaft would seem to have been to permit the accumulation of a large volume of water so that more could be drawn off at one time than was possible from an ordinary well.

The surface structures connected with the shaft show many successive periods: first a floor paved with poros slabs across which the water was conducted in tile conduits to a couple of small basins set below floor level; a Hellenistic re-building with terrazzo flooring, and temporary repair after damage suffered in the Sullan sack of 86 B.C. In the Roman period the most substantial part above ground level was a square tank ( $2.60 \times 2.70$  m. inside) with concrete walls and a plastered floor which shows no less than 6 periods, the successive floors being laid one on top of the other. The establishment was put out of commission by the Herulian sack of 267 A.D., although the well continued in use, or was re-used into very late Roman times.

Four wells were cleared during the season, their contents supplying the most detailed commentary on the history of habitation in the area. The earliest, which had been partially cleared in 1940, was of the Protogeometric period: a poorly cut shaft only 3.50 m. deep. The second well dated from the late fourth century and the third from the early Roman period. The stratified deposit in the fourth well was continuous from the first to about the middle of the third century A.D.; it was then interrupted, presumably by the Herulian sack, but resumed in the Byzantine period (10th-11th centuries). This well was interesting in point of construction: in a depth of 17.60 m. its diameter expanded gradually from 0.76 m. at the top to 1.24 m. at the bottom. The curbing tiles had therefore to be made to order, each ring forming a section of a cone.

The systematic scraping of bedrock to the west of the Great Drain brought to light several pockets filled with deposits of the fifth century B.C. which yielded a little red-figured pottery and 8 ostraka; three of Themistokles, two of Aristides, two of Hippokrates, son of Alkmeonides, and one of Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos.

By the end of the season a triangular area measuring some 2,300 square metres in the extreme south of the section had been completely explored.

### THE HEPHAISTEION

In the course of the summer Mr. B. H. Hill carried out some investigations in the Hephaisteion, concerning himself especially with the spacing of the interior columns, the height of the inner ceiling, and the treatment of the wall surfaces. For this purpose it was necessary to open several more pits in the haunches of the vault in order to study the top of the ancient walls; and also to shift many of the temple marbles now lying within the cella. Mr. Hill will present the results of his study in the Shear Memorial Supplement of *Hesperia*.

### SCULPTURE

From the general nature of the season's work, little sculpture was to be expected, and little was found. Several pieces, however, are of interest.

About one metre to the west of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods and just south of Leagros' dedication, in a level of the early fifth century B.C., appeared a much battered lion's head of poros (Plates XLIII, 4, and XLV, 1).<sup>20</sup> Enough of the neck remains to show that the animal had his head turned to the right at right angles to the body. The back, though badly broken and worn, would seem to have been originally flat. It will be noted also that the modelling of the mane stops abruptly along the front upper edge of head and neck. These considerations, reinforced by the unweathered state of the surface, indicate that the lion comes from a pediment.

Close similarity in material and workmanship associate him with the Acropolis pediment breed, yet he cannot be connected with any of the Acropolis lions that are sufficiently well preserved to permit comparison of scale and style. In view of the much damaged state of the piece its descent from the Acropolis would seem possible. More probable, however, is the assumption that the sculpture came from some archaic building of the Agora destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C.<sup>21</sup>

The head of a youth in Pentelic marble illustrated in Plate XLV, 2 comes from

<sup>20</sup> S 1222. Height 0.55 m., width 0.58 m., thickness 0.34 m., width of face 0.39 m.

<sup>21</sup> In 1938, beneath the north end of the Stoa of Zeus, some 46 m. to the west of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods, were found several fragmentary poros building blocks of archaic style, including a fluted column drum with diameter of 0.74 m.



a well of the Roman period at the west foot of the Areopagus.<sup>22</sup> The scale is half life. Despite its battered state, the head reveals good modelling and careful workmanship. The deep articulation of the brow, the treatment of the hair, the thinness of the eyelids suggest a date early in the third century B.C.

The area to the west of the Areopagus has been particularly fruitful in terracotta figurines. As noted above, masses of waste from the making of figurines were found here both in 1939 and 1946. This material, however, is extremely fragmentary and will require much study. Single figurines were found commonly in the house deposits. In Plate XLV, 3 and 4 are illustrated two striking pieces which were found together in a context of the late second or early first century B.C.

The female figure<sup>23</sup> is marked as Nike not only by the fact that she is alighting but also by the presence of holes in her shoulders for the attachment of wings. The pose and composition represent one of the latest Greek versions of the mode initiated by Paionios some three centuries earlier in the famous war memorial at Olympia. Much the same stage of development is illustrated by figurines from Myrina.<sup>24</sup>

The male figure (Plate XLV, 4)<sup>25</sup> has a statuesque quality that harks back to major sculpture of the early fifth century, to the time of the Tyrannicides and the lunging warriors of the Aegina pediment, in this respect being thoroughly characteristic of one of the archaizing strains of the first century B.C. The man has apparently just drawn his sword from the scabbard that has left its scar on his left side; but the identification of the incident remains obscure.

## INSCRIPTIONS

Of the few inscriptions that turned up by chance during the war years the most interesting is a fragment of the mid-fifth century, inscribed stoichedon with a list of names, probably of war casualties (I 5901). This inscription appears in the *Corpus* as I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 941. Having been discovered in 1833 in the Church of Hypapanti and published first by Pittakis in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1852, it subsequently disappeared. It was found in the fall of 1945 on the surface at the far eastern side of the excavations, a stone's throw to the north, and slightly downhill from the site of the Hypapanti. A re-reading of the stone will permit the correction of several of the names as they stand in the *Corpus*.

The exploration carried out in the Library of Pantainos in the summer of 1946

<sup>22</sup> S 1208. Height 0.155 m. The head had apparently been broken from the body in antiquity and was secured in place again with an iron dowel.

<sup>23</sup> T 2309. Height 0.299 m. Dull red clay, covered with white engobe on which remain traces of pink paint. Large, rectangular vent in back. On the back are clear traces of a girdle, the continuation of which on the front of the figure has been eliminated in the retouching.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, nos. 73, 74.

<sup>25</sup> T 2310. Height 0.158 m. Dull red clay; no trace of paint.

brought to light several inscriptions which had been re-used in the "Valerian Wall" of the late third century. Among them is a sizeable fragment from a large stele containing five decrees of the years 128/7 and 127/6 B.C. honouring the ephebes and their instructors.<sup>26</sup> Two other large pieces found in this same area also come from an ephebic inscription, of the year 116/5 B.C. They form the upper part of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1009, the lower part of which came from the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society in this region in the last century.<sup>27</sup> A statue base of Hymettian marble imbedded in the Valerian Wall is inscribed in lettering of the early Roman period with a dedication from the merchants to one Antipatros who had served as *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας* in gratitude for forethought and safety.<sup>28</sup>

## COINS

The season's work yielded comparatively few coins, but among them an Athenian tetradrachm of about the middle of the fifth century (Plate XLVI, 1). This piece came from a fifth-century level immediately to the west of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods. It is a welcome addition to the surprisingly small number of silver coins hitherto found in the Agora.

## POTTERY

The most interesting groups of pottery from the season's work are those from beneath the Odeion (cf. p. 202, above). The series begins with the well which yielded a few scraps of Submycenaean pottery and a mass of Protogeometric: large pitchers and coarse jugs, two-handled goblets, a child's feeding bottle with spout. A surprising feature of the group was the number of vases (some seven) with holes in their walls: usually about 1 cm. in diameter, made in some cases before firing, in others after. A typical specimen is the cup illustrated in Plate XLVI, 2.<sup>29</sup> In one instance the hole occurs in the base, suggesting a flower pot; where the side is pierced the motive is not apparent.

An irregular pit beneath the east part of the cavea of the Odeion was packed with pottery of the late Geometric and the very beginning of the Orientalizing period. Since it obviously represents ordinary household refuse, the group usefully supplements the more specialized furnishings of the contemporary graves. A representative selection of the vases and two out of three miniature terracotta horses are illustrated in Plate XLVI, 4. Of particular interest is the small bowl at the lower left which was moulded

<sup>26</sup> I 989. The previously known fragments were assembled and published by Dow in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 71 ff. The new piece joins Dow's Fragment J and contains parts of Decrees IV and V. The inscription has been re-edited together with several other new fragments by Meritt in *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 201 ff. See also above, p. 169, No. 66.

<sup>27</sup> I 5952. See above, p. 170, No. 67.

<sup>28</sup> I 5925.

<sup>29</sup> P 17245. Height 0.096 m.

by pressing soft clay against the inside of a basket.<sup>30</sup> This piece illustrates the most direct, though by no means the most significant influence of basketry on the sister craft of pottery in the Geometric period. Comparison with the grave groups from the family burial plot to the south of the Tholos indicates a date in the late eighth and perhaps early seventh century.<sup>31</sup>

A shallow well likewise beneath the cavea of the Odeion had been filled at one time, in the latter part of the 7th century B.C., by a mass of earth which contained many vases of ordinary domestic types but also a certain number of exceptional quality such as might have been offered at a sanctuary, together with a few terracotta figurines, miniature painted plaques, shields, etc., comparable with those found in 1932 in the closely contemporary votive deposit at the north foot of the Areopagus.<sup>32</sup> The filling for the well may have been derived in part from the rubbish dump of that same sanctuary. A typical specimen from the well group is shown in Plate XLVI, 3: a fragment from the upper part of an early black-figured amphora with a wall panel filled by a girl's head.<sup>33</sup>

In the last days of work in 1940, at a time when it was impossible to provide for the mending of new material, a large number of vases and vase fragments of the later fifth century together with some earlier material were found in an extensive terrace filling at the west edge of the excavations, near the foot of the Hill of the Nymphs.<sup>34</sup> From this deposit three pieces are selected for illustration here. Plate XLVII, 1 shows a skyphos<sup>35</sup> of shape B with a nude youth running away and looking back towards another, who stands cloaked and leaning on his staff on the opposite side of the pot. This piece has lately been assigned by J. D. Beazley to the Lyandros painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 569). The cloaked youth closely resembles one of the figures on the name-piece in Florence (*A.R.V.*, p. 569, 1).

Plate XLVII, 3 provides two welcome additions to the brief series of red-figured aryballoi.<sup>36</sup> On the example to the left<sup>37</sup> Dionysos is shown seated, watching a group

<sup>30</sup> P 17189. Height 0.069 m.; diameter 0.111 m. Unglazed except for three crossing bands of dull red on the inside. Fragments of three other similar bowls were found in the well. For other examples, probably from the same workshop, cf. *Arch. Anz.*, XVII, 1902, col. 115; *Πρακτικά*, 1911, p. 126.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, Supplement II, *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora*, Athens, 1939.

<sup>32</sup> D. Burr, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.

<sup>33</sup> P 17393. Height 0.29 m. For the type cf. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, fig. 200.

<sup>34</sup> The following note on the red-figured pottery is by Miss Lucy Talcott.

<sup>35</sup> Inv. P 16898. Height 0.102; diameter at rim 0.134. Much missing, including both handles; traces of both attachments for the vertical handle remain; restored in plaster. The resting surface of the ring foot reserved, and the space within it decorated at the centre with a glazed dot and circle. No relief contour. On the shape, cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, pl. 65, 2.

<sup>36</sup> Beazley, "Aryballos," *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pp. 187 ff. The new pieces will fall between nos. 15 and 17 of the list there (pp. 208-209).

<sup>37</sup> Inv. P 16916. Diameter at shoulder 0.082; preserved height, a) 0.064, b) 0.039. The shoulder



of dancing maenads. The best preserved wears a neatly fitted nebris; she holds a slaughtered kid in her left hand and brandishes a sword in her right. Another sounds the tympanum. The tall staff held by the god continues up beneath the egg-pattern border of the shoulder; if it is a thyrsus, the head will appear between two of the palmettes of the shoulder ornament. The subject recalls the lid of the Meidias painter's pyxis in London (*A.R.V.*, p. 833, 14); the style is related also to the Oxford pyxis (*A.R.V.*, p. 833, 15).

The second aryballos<sup>38</sup> (Plate XLVII, 3, right) illustrates the rare combination of moulded ornament with red-figure. Three groups of carefully moulded ribs separate three small figured panels; preserved on one of these is a pair of feet; on another a pair of feet standing before a stele.

Also from the 1940 season comes the head,<sup>39</sup> possibly of Zeus (Plate XLVII, 2), which has been assigned by Beazley to the Kleophrades painter (*A.R.V.*, pp. 120 ff.) and is in his earlier manner.

The most unusual example of red-figure found in 1946 is the drinking cup or bowl<sup>40</sup> shown in Plate XLVII, 4 and 5. The flat-topped insloping rim is that of the ordinary black-glazed one-handler, but no trace of a handle remains at the rim so far as preserved and the spreading foot differs from the simple ring common to that shape. A reserved band runs right round the exterior, and is patterned with an ivy garland between two glazed bands, the black running irregularly to thin brown. Inside (Plate XLVII, 4, top) at the centre of the floor within a reserved circle is a kantharos rendered in red-figure. It has high-swung handles and a tall stem and is set on a small reserved exergue. On the underside of the bowl (Plate XLVII, 4, bottom) within a reserved lightly offset ring, is a similar kantharos only slightly less elaborate, set at right angles to the one within. Both vases although carelessly drawn have relief contours except for their bases. The use of decoration both above and below suggests the series of small dishes,<sup>41</sup> contemporary with our bowl, doubly decorated in black silhouette. They carry a variety of motifs, including amphoras and in one instance a kantharos.

The context in which the bowl was found indicates a date in the third quarter of

fragment mended from two pieces; the wall fragment from three. No handles. Relief contour; free use of thinned glaze wash, and of white, yellowed over, for jewelry, berries and the like.

<sup>38</sup> Inv. P 16927. *a*) preserved height 0.04; *b*) preserved width 0.035; diameter at shoulder estimated *ca.* 0.06. Relief contours for the figures and for the palmettes; the wheel on the bottom is painted in heavy added clay, as also the heart of the palmette. The clay and surfaces grey, as if the fragments had been burned after breaking.

<sup>39</sup> Inv. P 17211. Max. dim. 0.052. Wall fragment from a calyx krater. Relief contour; purple for the fillet; dilute glaze wash for the iris of the eye.

<sup>40</sup> Inv. P 17126. Height 0.062; diameter 0.17. Mended from many pieces; about one-third of the rim and upper wall missing; restored in plaster.

<sup>41</sup> *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, pl. 64, 9-10 and pl. 65, 20. An example in Adria is cited in the text as having a kantharos on the underside.

the fifth century.<sup>42</sup> The two kantharoi bear no relation to pottery shapes then in current use, but are of the sort traditionally associated with representations of Dionysos. It is difficult, however, to imagine that this simple bowl can have been intended as an offering for the god. It appears rather to celebrate his mercies: even when the cup has been emptied and turned upside down it continues to suggest a pleasant promise.

The pottery of the Roman period may be illustrated by two pieces. The first (Plate XLVIII, 1) is a sigillata bowl from a level of the first century A.D. in a well at the west foot of the Areopagus.<sup>43</sup> The moulded decoration on the curved part of the wall consists of swags suspended between bucrania with pendant fillets. The crisp mouldings, the deep cinnamon brown of the glaze and the agreeable contrast between the glossy smoothness of those parts that were turned on the wheel and the slightly rough surface of the moulded zone render this a very pleasing piece. The reading of the maker's stamp that appears in the moulded zone is not quite certain (Plate XLVIII, 2); a plausible expansion of the ligature would give P] O N T E I, the name of a Gaulish potter of La Graufesenque of the period Claudius-Vespasian.

The second piece (Plate XLVIII, 3) comes from one of the wells at the west foot of the Areopagus at a level of the first to second century A.D.<sup>44</sup> Although the piece is fragmentary, its scheme is certain: a small round bowl with flat rim and pierced lug handles. It is decorated with a wreath of ivy around the floor, a band of alternating ivy berries and leaves on the rim, all in high relief. The crispness of the relief decoration, the concentric circles on the floor, the extreme thinness of the walls all suggest that this is a close imitation of metal work and the relationship is made more specific by a few remnants of thin vitreous glaze which gives a surface effect strikingly like that of old silver.<sup>45</sup>

### MODEL OF THE WEST SIDE

The buildings of the Athenian Agora are perhaps more ruinous than those of any other major site in Greece, thanks to the long continuity in habitation of which the

<sup>42</sup> Other inventoried material from the same undisturbed filling near the west edge of the museum site includes a storage amphora with bulbous neck (Inv. P 17124) like that shown in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 496, no. 86. It carries a combination dipinto and graffito suggesting a price mark. There are further two interesting black-glazed pieces, one a small fish plate (Inv. P 17127), very carefully made, with shallow central hollow and short down-turned rim, the earliest fish plate on the Agora shelves. The second (Inv. P 17125) is a conventional black-glazed skyphos, with a graffito, as yet unexplained, incised on the wall near one handle. The uninventoried potsherds from the group include two fragments of stamped ware of a simple sort, and fragments of a considerable number of skyphoi of both Attic and Corinthian types with wall and rim profiles characteristic of the third quarter of the century.

<sup>43</sup> P 17161. Height 0.116; diameter 0.163 m. About two-thirds of the bowl remain.

<sup>44</sup> P 17115. Diameter 0.17 m. Micaceous, ash-gray clay.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *Terra Sigillata* (London, 1920), p. 198, pl. LVII. The round form appears to be later than the oval; our specimen may be dated in the second century.

Athenians themselves have boasted. The public buildings for the most part are reduced to a few foundation blocks still *in situ* and to the chips from the breaking up of the marble or limestone blocks of the superstructure. These elements have sufficed for the restoration of the principal buildings in all essentials on paper. Even the best of drawings, however, give but an inadequate conception of an ancient building and are still more deficient in presenting a closely and consciously integrated group of buildings.

For these reasons it has seemed wise to embark on the making of a model of the buildings of the Agora, starting with those structures on the west side that have already been fully explored and studied (Plate XLVIII, 4). This section was begun in 1944 by Mr. Christos Mammelis, who had served his apprenticeship in model-making on the model of the Acropolis under Professor G. P. Stevens. The work has been done under the close supervision of Mr. John Travlos. The scale is 1:200, the material a fine plaster of Paris; color has been used sparingly. By September, 1946, the whole of the west side from the Stoa of Zeus to the Tholos, including the Hephaisteion on the hilltop, had been finished. The other buildings will be added as their exploration and study are completed and the model will be kept on exhibition in the Agora Museum.<sup>46</sup>

### THE FUTURE

The brief campaign of 1946 has given some indication of the amount of material and the wealth of historical information that may be gotten from the methodical exploration of the deeper levels of the Agora. Since much the greater part of the area has still to be covered in this way and since such exploration to be of any value must be done painstakingly, the work will require many years. In the season of 1947, however, attention will be concentrated on completing the clearance of the site for the permanent Museum so that the present temporary buildings may be demolished and the whole area thus made available for study.

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<sup>46</sup> The model will be discussed in greater detail by Mr. John Travlos in the Shear Memorial Supplement of *Hesperia*.



## THE CORINTHIAN ALTAR PAINTER

(PLATES L-LIII)

IN THE course of investigations in the South Stoa at Corinth in the fall of 1946 were discovered some fragments of painted terracotta which proved to belong to a small dedicatory altar.<sup>1</sup> They came from a deposit of the fifth or early fourth century B.C., packed below the floor level of Shop XXX, the fourth shop from the west end of the Stoa. The deposit originally extended over a considerable area,<sup>2</sup> but the trenches cut for the foundations of the Stoa and for the well in the center of the shop caused considerable disturbance and removal of much of its contents.

When the numerous fragments had been joined together they formed one corner of the altar (see Plate L, 1) with the figure of a siren painted on one side and a swan on the other. The siren, carefully rendered with fine incised lines and painted in two colors, probably decorated the front, while the less elaborate figure of the swan would belong to the left side. The lower edge is preserved, and above the figures are traces of the top moulding, showing that the painted panel had a height of 0.085 m. The preserved width of the two panels measures 0.095 m. and 0.085 m. respectively. The thickness of the wall at the bottom is 0.024 m. on the flank and only 0.018 m. on the front. The inside is very rough. It is obvious from the nature of the clay that the altar was made in a form and the clay applied in two layers. The clay of the outer shell, which is smooth and well levigated, was pressed into the mould with the hands, whereas the inside layer of somewhat grittier clay was carelessly daubed on with a broad spatula. The color of the clay varies from a light red at the bottom of the front panel to a pale buff on the side. The grittier inner shell is a bright red throughout. There are traces of a red painted border at the bottom of the front. If this border extended to the side and vertically along the corner, as is likely, the color has completely disappeared. The moulding at the top was colored purple.

Although the head of the feathered figure on the front panel (see Plate L, 2) is missing, the identification as a siren is practically certain. Above the large outstretched wing, at the very edge of the break, is the beginning of the neck which comes too high for a bird's neck. The rather short body and tail, as compared with the size of the wing and the shape of the legs, are typical of the siren as represented in archaic painting. The coverts of the wing are purple, but the long quills and all the rest of the body are painted in a dull, dark brown color. The feathers are rendered by fine incised lines. Only the right wing is shown on the preserved portion. The left wing may have been extended toward the front in the archaic manner, but more likely it was conceived as being hidden behind the right wing. This was apparently also the

<sup>1</sup> Inventory No. M.F. 8954.

<sup>2</sup> See *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 566.

arrangement of the swan's wings on the left side of the altar. With the wings in this position the whole figure would require a panel 0.12-0.14 m. in length. If the left wing was shown in front, it would probably be held more nearly vertically than the right wing, but even so it could hardly be fitted into a panel less than 0.17 m. in length, or twice the height to the moulding, an unlikely proportion.

The less well-preserved panel on the left side is decorated with the figure of a swan (see Plate L, 3). The whole body is painted brown, except the long curving bill, which is purple. In the sparing use of color and the less meticulous rendering of the feathers the figure of the swan contrasts strongly with that of the siren, which was doubtless intended as the principal motive, decorating the front of the altar. To judge from the comparative size of the two figures, the side panels were shorter than the one in front. The swan could be accommodated on a panel *ca.* 0.11 m. in length. The opposite end probably had a similar motive, and presumably the rear was left undecorated.

The importance of these fragments is enhanced by their stylistic affinity to another altar (shown on Plate LI) discovered at Corinth on the north side of Temple Hill and published by Mary Swindler in 1932.<sup>3</sup> Despite the difference in themes, the similarity is so striking as to leave little doubt that the two altars were produced in the same shop and decorated by the same artist. They may even have been made in the same mould, but the absence of all but the lower edge of the moulding on the new fragments makes it impossible to prove that this was the case. The scale of the figures on the two altars is about the same, and the panels differ very slightly in height.<sup>4</sup> The color of the clay in the Pygmy-and-Crane altar is a light red throughout and the surface is somewhat lighter reddish buff. The inner core of the new fragments is slightly darker than that of the other altar, whereas the surface is darker in some spots and considerably lighter in others. The smooth lustreless texture of the clay is identical. This is so typically Corinthian that on this basis alone the two altars must be considered indigenous products of Corinth.

A comparison of the drawing and coloring leads to the same conclusion. Particularly convincing is the similarity between the lion and the siren. There are, moreover, certain peculiarities common to both altars which point unmistakably to a single artist. The hair under the belly of the lion is realistically rendered by very fine slanting lines. Similar fine lines appear on the neck of the swan to indicate the soft down, and likewise above the right leg of the siren. The use of purple for the bills of the swan and the crane is another characteristic common to both altars. This is of particular importance, because on Corinthian pottery the bills of birds are commonly painted brown, whereas the necks are purple, in striking contrast to the birds on the two altars.

<sup>3</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 512-520. The inventory number is M.F. 8953.

<sup>4</sup> The panel with pygmy and crane measures 0.091 m. from the lower edge to the moulding, while the panel with the lion is only 0.089 m. high. The two sides of the new altar are 0.085 m. high. This difference of 4-6 mm. might be accounted for by a difference in shrinkage during firing.

Even more peculiar is the indication of the ear by an incised circular line both on the crane and on the swan.<sup>5</sup> The eyes of both the pygmy and the animals are indicated by a reserved space within which is a smaller dot in black for the iris, and the eye of the swan on the new altar is similarly rendered. These common peculiarities of style and technique, added to the less tangible but equally convincing general resemblance in looks and feel, lead to but one conclusion, that both altars were painted by the same hand.

In her publication of the altar with the Pygmy and Crane, Professor Swindler comments on the un-Corinthian character of the decoration. Both the lion and the pygmy are so strikingly different from the style of figures common in Corinthian pottery that the author does not hesitate to declare: "As for the style of painting on the little altar, we may say with assurance that it is not Corinthian."

This conclusion is based upon a comparison of the figures on the altar with the decoration on Corinthian pottery. But if the altar, as Professor Swindler suggests, was made as late as 530 B.C., there is a chronological discrepancy which renders such a comparison unconvincing. In the second half of the sixth century very little figured pottery was produced in Corinth in the traditional Corinthian style. The decline of orientalizing decoration on Corinthian pottery had reached its depth by the middle of the sixth century, and the conventionalized decoration of the pottery produced after that time has nothing in common with the style of painting on the altars.

In determining the origin of the two altars we are, fortunately, less dependent on the matter of style than on other considerations. If our conclusion is justified that both were painted by the same hand, and perhaps even made in the same mould, it is unlikely that they are imported. It would be a rare coincidence to find in the Corinth excavations two imported examples from the same mould, of a hitherto comparatively uncommon type of dedication. Both are, moreover, made of the typical clay of Corinth.

When Professor Swindler's article was written, no other Corinthian altars of this kind had been published, and the opinion, originally expressed by Mrs. Van Buren,<sup>6</sup> and reiterated by Professor Swindler, that the shape originated with the Greek colonies seemed valid. Since then, however, so many examples have come to light that the terracotta *arulae* may be regarded as a Corinthian creation.<sup>7</sup> Fragments of four such altars were discovered in 1934 in a well-deposit of fifth-century pottery.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Occasionally the ears of birds are so indicated on Chalcidian vases. A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Tafel XXXIII.

<sup>6</sup> *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, II, 1918, p. 50. Cf. *Arch. Anz.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 139.

<sup>7</sup> That the miniature terracotta altar was not limited to the Greek colonies has been pointed out in several recent books and articles. Elisabeth Jastrow, *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1946, p. 67, note 1; Robinson and Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII, p. 324, note 6; Inez Scott Ryberg, *An Archaeological Record of Rome*, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 313-314, nos. 239 (called fragment of revetment, but doubtless an altar) and 240-242.



Two of these had painted decoration, but the fragments do not show whether there were any figured designs. Another small fragment in red-figure technique, doubtless also part of an altar, was found in the South Stoa in 1938.<sup>9</sup> The shape was quite different from that of the altar published by Professor Swindler.

The piece shown in Plate L, 4 is from the gabled end of a terracotta altar from Corinth.<sup>10</sup> The painted decoration in black and brownish red is poorly preserved. In the pediment is a conventional floral design, and on the broad band below is a bead-and-reel pattern. The upper edge of the gable appears to have been painted a flat black. Below the gable is a heavy moulding with a Doric leaf pattern. There was a

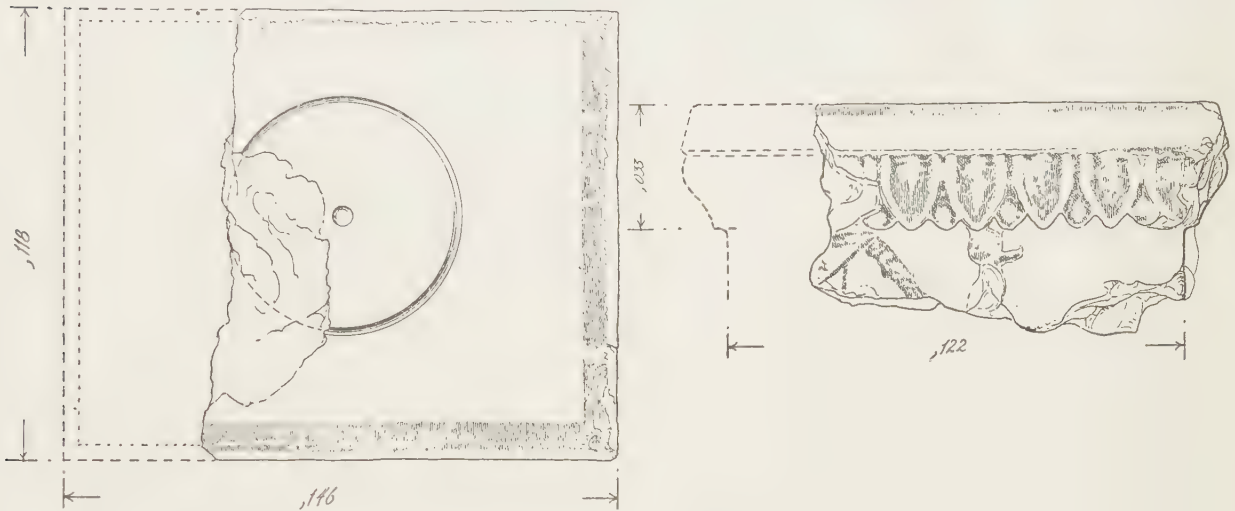


Fig. 1. Larger Fragment from Tile Factory (cf. Plate L, 5)

painted band enclosing a rectangular panel underneath, but no designs on the panel itself are preserved. The decoration is careless and the date is probably later than that of the other altars from Corinth described above.

More important for our purpose are three fragmentary altars discovered in 1940 in the excavation of a tile factory half a mile to the east of the ancient Agora. The largest of these,<sup>11</sup> shown on Plate L, 5 and in Figure 1, preserves most of the top and the upper part of three sides. The back is plain and unpainted. At the upper edge of the other two sides is a plain band above a heavy leaf-and-dart moulding in relief. The leaves are painted purple, but the edges and central rib are unpainted.

<sup>9</sup> Saul S. Weinberg, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 592 and fig. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Inventory No. M.F. 8884. Greatest width, 0.205 m.; preserved height, 0.165 m. The fragment was found by a workman in a field a little to the north of the modern village. One of the fragments referred to above also had gables on the flanks (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 314, no. 240 and figure 45).

<sup>11</sup> Inventory No. M.F. 8774.

The darts and the lower edge of the band above the tongue pattern are painted a grayish brown. The upper edge of the band on the front of the altar is painted purple, and the top has a purple band along the front and side, but not at the back. The moulding projects *ca.* 0.012 m. from the background of the panels.

The decoration on the front, which appears to have been the same on the right flank, consisted of a mounted figure in relief. Only the heads of horse and rider are preserved. The face of the rider was painted purple and the hair seems to have been brown. The features of the face are not distinguishable, but may have been originally picked out in color. The head of the horse is better modelled and bridle, eye, and mane were colored brown. Of the relief on the right side only part of the horse's head is preserved. The top is flat and in the approximate middle is a circle impressed while the clay was wet.<sup>12</sup> Its diameter is 0.062 m., and the center is indicated with a shallow depression. The distance from the perimeter of the circle to the edge of the moulding in front is 0.032 m., to the rear edge of the altar, 0.024 m. On the right side the distance from the circle to the edge is 0.04 m. Presumably the space on the left side was the same, making a total length of  $(2 \times 0.042) + 0.062 = .146$  m. The greatest width is 0.118 m. These dimensions, which include the thickness of the moulding, are nearly the same as those estimated for the two painted altars from Corinth. The fragment is very lightly fired, giving the surface of the clay a pale yellow color.

The second fragment<sup>13</sup> (Plate LII, 1) contains part of the right flank, with the upper edge and back preserved. It is identical with the preceding in every respect except the colors applied on the figure of the horse. The bridle and reins are in light purple, the eye and mane in brown. Both the purple and the brown are of a somewhat lighter shade than the corresponding colors on the other fragment. The two altars were clearly made in the same mould, and the clay is of the same buff color, but the inner biscuit of the second fragment is fired light red.

The third fragment<sup>14</sup> (Plate LII, 2), apparently also made in the same mould as the preceding, is a waster, very lightly fired and left unpainted. When removed from the mould it was squeezed out of shape, obliterating the details both of the leaf-and-dart and of the horse. This small fragment thus adds formal proof to the already obvious conclusion that the three altars are of local manufacture.

<sup>12</sup> There are traces of a circular depression in the top of the fragment published by M. Z. Pease under no. 239 (*loc. cit.*, p. 313), a further indication that this fragment too belongs to an altar. Several of the moulded terracotta altars from Italy have a circular depression in the top which has been interpreted as indication that incense was burned on the altars. See Mrs. Van Buren, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Among the many small altars of stone and terracotta found at Olynthos there are some with a similar depression in the top. Cf. Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 322-323, nos. 2 and 3. For another example of this feature, see below, on the altar in the Robinson Collection at Baltimore.

<sup>13</sup> Inventory No. M.F. 8587.

<sup>14</sup> Inventory No. M.F. 8586.

Two of the fragments were discovered in deposits from the late sixth and the fifth centuries B.C. The modelling of the horses' heads, which offers the only stylistic evidence of date, points to the first half of the fifth century as the most likely date of the three altars.<sup>15</sup>

A terracotta altar of about the same size and with a similar representation of horse and rider on three sides has been found at Olynthus. It is made of soft brick-red clay,<sup>16</sup> and the reliefs are now rather indistinct. Miniature altars, probably used in the private family cults, were fairly common at Olynthus.<sup>17</sup> The nearness of Potidaia, a Corinthian colony, might account for Corinthian influence at this site.

In addition to these altars from recent excavations at Corinth, there are several other unpublished pieces from earlier campaigns. These will be included in the volume of *Miscellaneous Finds*, which is now being completed by Gladys R. Davidson. Because of their bearing on the whole question of Corinthian terracotta altars, it seems desirable to include a brief description here.

The fragment shown in Plate LII, 3 is from the corner of an altar<sup>18</sup> with painted decoration. The moulding is a somewhat degenerate form of hawk's beak with a pattern of alternating red and black tongues separated by vertical black lines. At the top is a plain taenia, the lower edge of which is painted black, the upper red. Beneath the tongue pattern is a raised fillet painted red. The preserved piece is probably from the upper right corner. No decoration is preserved on the front panel. The right flank had a design in red color, probably part of two opposing triangles.<sup>19</sup>

The smaller fragment, Plate LII, 4,<sup>20</sup> is from another altar with a similar moulding at the top. Part of the plain back is preserved, showing that the panel surmounted by the moulding is from the upper right corner of the right flank. Both pieces are made of the typical buff clay of Corinth. Another painted fragment (Plate LII, 5)<sup>21</sup> preserves the lower half of two nude figures in violent motion toward the right. The position of the figures on the panel is indicated by a small portion of the original lower edge. Of the nearer figure, which is painted red, are preserved most of the right leg and hip, part of the left leg and abdomen, and the upper part of the

<sup>15</sup> For another example of terracotta relief of a horse from about the same period, reference is made to the shield discovered in the Kerameikos a mile west of Corinth (Agnes E. Newhall, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 27 and pl. II). A fragment of a similar shield was found at the tile factory in 1940. Apparently these shields were produced in the same workshop as the three altars.

<sup>16</sup> D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, IV, p. 59, no. 339 and plates 33 and 34.

<sup>17</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 322-323 and II, fig. 124, 4-6.

<sup>18</sup> Inventory No. M.F. 1954 *a*.

<sup>19</sup> The same design occurs as the decoration on the couch of a painted terracotta relief from Corinth (M.F. 5688), with a reclining figure of a hero. For its occurrence on another altar, see below, p. 220.

<sup>20</sup> Inventory No. M.F. 1954 *b*, found with 1954 *a* in 1932 in a late sixth-century well deposit in the Temple E area.

<sup>21</sup> Inventory No. M.F. 1955. Found in 1932 with the preceding two.



right arm, which is extended toward the rear. Behind him is the figure of a silen rendered in black color. His left leg, partly hidden behind the man, and his hooved foot, the edge of his right leg, and part of the tail can be clearly distinguished. A diagonal band above and behind the tail probably goes with the silen, since it is painted black, but it is difficult to determine what it represents. It is too narrow to be part of his arm, but may be some object held in his hand above his shoulder. From the action of the two figures one gets the impression that they are competing in a race, but further interpretation of the scene is not possible.<sup>22</sup> The drawing is rather sketchy and the colors appear to have been applied without great care. The back is rough, and the thickness of the piece, 0.016 m., would be excessive for a pinax. Without doubt it is part of a painted altar. It does not fit either of the two preceding pieces, but may be from a third altar of the same kind.

Plate LIII, 1 shows a fragment from the lower right corner of an altar<sup>23</sup> decorated with figures in relief. Facing the corner to the right is a draped figure, sitting on a circular base, and behind is preserved the foot of a second figure. At the bottom is a heavy moulding. The feet and lower legs of the two figures are painted a reddish brown; the drapery is in the color of the clay, with borders in black which has largely peeled off. The seat and the moulding at the bottom are also painted black. On the right side is preserved a hoof from the foreleg of a horse. No trace of color remains here.

The two altars shown on Plate LIII, 2 and 3<sup>24</sup> are decorated with a double leaf-pattern in relief, accentuated with the use of color. They are important in this connection chiefly as evidence for the common occurrence of the terracotta altar at Corinth in the second half of the sixth century and probably throughout the fifth century B.C.

An altar closely related to the fragments with painted decoration from Corinth is published by D. M. Robinson in *C.V.A.*, The Robinson Collection, fasc. 1, p. 57 and pl. XLVIII. Its dimensions are only slightly smaller than those of the Corinth altars, and the shape and type of moulding are similar. In the top is a circular depression. There is a single figure of a silen decorating the front, on either side panel are two pairs of opposing triangles, and the back is plain. The body of the silen is painted red, the beard appears to have been colored white, and the tail is black. Though said to have been found at Skione in Macedonia, the color of its clay and the resemblance to the Corinth altars would indicate that it was made at Corinth.<sup>25</sup> The occurrence

<sup>22</sup> The action of the two figures is reminiscent of the runners in the torch-and-pitcher race represented on a fifth-century vase from Corinth (M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 310-311, no. 235; Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 152).

<sup>23</sup> Inventory No. C.T. 1547. Found in one of the early trenches in the Agora.

<sup>24</sup> Inventory Nos. M.F. 6429 and 6430. Both found in the Agora in 1937, in a well filled up toward the end of the fifth century B.C. (Charles H. Morgan, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 547).

<sup>25</sup> In the original publication it was called Attic, but Professor Robinson now considers it

of the opposing triangles on an altar found at Corinth is further evidence for the Corinthian origin of the altar in Baltimore. It seems to be of a somewhat later date <sup>26</sup> than the painted altars from Corinth.

In the excavations of the Hera Limenia sanctuary at Perachora part of an altar was discovered <sup>27</sup> which is decorated in the same technique as the Corinth altars. Its dimensions tally very nearly with those of the Corinth examples, but the moulding at the top is quite different. For the animal figures decorating the front and the one preserved side black and red are used alternately. It has been dated in the third quarter of the sixth century. Regarding the style of decoration on the altar from Perachora and of the Baltimore altar, Mr. Payne left the following note:

"The arula from the Limenia temenos is decorated in the same pseudo-Caeretan style as the arula from Corinth (*A.J.A.*, 1932, 512 ff.). The example from Corinth is commonly spoken of as West Greek, and it is true that the style has much in common with Caeretan, from which it is obviously imitated. It is, however, like the example from Perachora, undoubtedly of Corinthian manufacture, as the technical resemblance to a whole series of large matt painted vases from Perachora and from Corinth shows (e. g., *Perachora* i, pl. 35, 1-2).

"There is yet another Corinthian arula; this example, now in D. M. Robinson's collection (*C.V.A.*, pl. 48—published as Attic—; cf. Beazley in *J.H.S.*, 1934, 90, who agrees with the attribution to Corinth, which is now confirmed by the Perachora finds), was found at Skione. I saw this arula in England: it is of pale green clay, distinctively Corinthian, and the attribution to Corinth is strengthened by two facts: (1) that the other examples of the shape found in Old Greece are also Corinthian; (2) that a fragment of a large vase of the same date and fabric as this arula was found in the Limenia temenos."

When one recalls that most of these Corinthian examples have come to light since the discovery of the Pygmy-and-Crane altar in 1929, it is evident that the hitherto rare occurrence of such objects in Greece is due very largely to the accidents of discovery. The miniature altar in terracotta, whether decorated with figures in relief or with painted designs, was, apparently, a relatively common type of dedication at Corinth in late archaic times and throughout the fifth century B.C. Since most of the Italian examples are of much later date, there seems to be no good reason for ascribing the origin of the type to Sicily and South Italy.

In the stylistic study of the Pygmy-and-Crane altar, Professor Swindler finds

Corinthian. Its Corinthian character was pointed out by Beazley in *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 90. Payne, who had seen the altar while it was still in dealers' hands, considered it a Corinthian piece. See his note below.

<sup>26</sup> Professor Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 57, dates it in the early fifth century.

<sup>27</sup> Its discovery is mentioned in *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, p. 260. For a description of the altar and a copy of Payne's note I am indebted to Mr. T. J. Dunbabin. The publication will appear in Volume II of *Perachora*, now in preparation.

the closest parallels not among the Corinthian pottery, but in the products of Ionian artists, and more particularly in the Caeretan hydriae. The Herakles on the Busiris vase is painted in the same technique as the pygmy on the altar, and small details like the incised parallel lines to represent the hair, the rendering of the teeth on the lions, etc., show a general resemblance between the Corinth altar and the Caeretan hydriae. In view of this similarity Professor Swindler would make the Corinthian altar and the hydriae products of the same workshop, and she suggests Caere as the most likely center for their manufacture. It is now evident, however, that the artist of the two painted altars from the Corinth excavations, whom I have called the Corinthian Altar painter, worked at Corinth at least during part of his career.

The stylistic affinity of the Corinth altars to the Caeretan hydriae, though hardly so close as to constitute proof of identical authorship or even of immediate connection, is not to be dismissed lightly. Whatever it amounts to, it becomes important rather as a factor for tracing the origin of the still homeless hydriae, than in its bearing upon the altars whose Corinthian origin is beyond dispute. Actually the figures on the altars could as readily be paralleled by examples of Attic black-figured vase paintings, in which many of the same peculiarities occur.

Though little is known about the black-figured ware produced in Corinth in the second half of the sixth century, it is obvious that the industry was not so completely washed up as is generally supposed to have been the case. Unmistakably the old tradition was broken, for the few examples of figured Corinthian pottery we have from this period are quite "un-Corinthian" in style. The change can best be traced in the pinakes from Penteskouphia, among which examples of both styles are found. Some of the later ones are decorated in a manner reminiscent of the figures on the Corinth altars, and one fragment<sup>28</sup> representing a marine deity riding on a scaly monster might even have been painted by the same hand. The scales are rendered by incised lines in exactly the same manner as the feathers of the siren on the new altar fragment, and the fine parallel strokes for mane and forelocks are similar to those on the neck of the swan and the belly of the lion. Perhaps the most tell-tale peculiarity is the form of the minute leaf-shaped ear, which is rather out of scale on the monster, but strongly suggestive of the swan's ear on the altar.

Whether any of the other pinakes could be the works of the same artist cannot be readily determined from the existing illustrations. One has a moulded frame at the top<sup>29</sup> which is decorated with a Doric leaf pattern rather like that on the Pygmy-and-Crane altar, and several have painted borders enclosing the decorated panel.

Baffling as it may be to seek acceptance for an unco-ordinated newcomer into

<sup>28</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, I, pl. 7, no. 26.

<sup>29</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, I, pl. 7, no. 25, and Pfuhl, *Mal.-und-Zeichn. der Griechen*, III, p. 43, fig. 180. To judge by the letter forms (epsilon with three slanting strokes instead of the earlier form shaped like an angular beta), this fragment cannot be much if any earlier than the altars.



the exclusive circles of recognized painters, the emergence of a new Corinthian master from the period of decay and subsequent imitation of Attic models is something of a pleasant surprise. Heartening, too, to the excavator is the fact that he made his appearance as a result of new discoveries in the field. The few examples of figured decoration by the Corinth Altar Painter which chance has preserved reveal his unquestioned ability as a painter of animal figures, his keen perception and faithful rendering of minute details, and a mature sense of design. He stands out as an isolated representative of the little-known school of Corinthian artists<sup>30</sup> from the second half of the sixth century B.C. The exponents of this school, through avoidance of crowded scenes and omission of space fillers and in their obvious striving toward the pictorial rather than decorative effects, are as far removed from the old tradition as possible. These un-Corinthian traits and the stylistic affinities with the art of distant centers present peculiar problems to the investigator.

Scholars' opinions are divided between the east and the west regarding the home of some of the so-called Ionian groups of vases, and the relation of Corinthian vase painting to these groups and to Attic black figure<sup>31</sup> is still much of a problem. Doubtless artists, then as now, migrated to other parts, bringing their art with them,<sup>32</sup> and it is no easy task to disentangle the influences at work in a specific center of production. It is hoped that the present essay to establish the identity of a hitherto unknown painter, and to fix the center of his activities will help to dispel some of the uncertainty which surrounds the late archaic art of Corinth.

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<sup>30</sup> On the style of pottery produced in Corinth in the second half of the sixth century, see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 331. That the ceramic industry of Corinth was still capable at this date of producing works of art of superior quality is attested by such examples as the terracotta shields referred to above (note 15), the exquisite warrior plaque found in 1933 in Shop XXXII of the South Stoa (see reference in note 2 above), and the splendid group of figures in the round, representing a combat with Amazons (Richard Stillwell, *Classical Studies Presented to Professor Capps*, pp. 318-322).

<sup>31</sup> See H. R. W. Smith, "The Hearst Hydria," *University of California, Publications in Classical Archaeology*, Vol. I, p. 252.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. H. R. W. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 260:—"many visitors to Greece since 1935 have had ocular proof that Late Corinthian draftsmen were not incapable of travel." He refers to the still unpublished wooden pinakes found in a cave at Pitsa in the Corinthia. Could we substitute craftsmen for draftsmen in the above quotation, and apply it to vase painters as well as painters on wood?

## THE INTERCALARY YEAR 157/6 B.C.

IT IS NOW generally agreed that the Athenian archon Anthesterios held office in the year 157/6 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> but there has been incorporated into the extensive literature on the problem of the Athenian calendar no evidence which will show conclusively whether the year of Anthesterios was an ordinary year or was intercalary. W. B. Dinsmoor has, it is true, reasoned that the year 157/6 B.C. was intercalary, but he was not able to find epigraphic evidence to support his opinion.<sup>2</sup>

There is, however, a passage in the inscriptions of Delos which proves conclusively that the year 157/6 B.C. was intercalary.<sup>3</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, col. I is concerned with new leases that were issued during the archonship of Anthesterios for various properties owned by the Temple of Apollo, and records among other things the months in which the new leases were assigned. The entry recording three leases that were issued in the month of Metageitnion (lines 57-74) begins with the words Μεταγειτνιώνος· τὸ χ[ωρίο]ν κ.τ.λ., and the entry recording five more issued in Maimakterion (lines 74-96) also begins with the name of the month (Μαιμακτηριώνος· συνοικίαν κ.τ.λ.). The conclusive evidence for an intercalary year is contained in lines 110-115, which read as follows: Ποσιδεῶνος ἐμβολίμον· [τὴν] οἰκίαν ἣν εἶχεν Σωσθένης Αἰθαλίδης δραχ. ϞΔΔ, διὰ τὸ δὲ ἀπε[λ]ηλυθέναι Σωσθένην ἐμισθώσατο Ἀπελλῆς Κάλου Κοθωκίδης δραχ. [. ] Δ εἰς τε τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ εἰς πέντε τὰ μετὰ Ἀνθεστήριον· ἔγγν. Πόπλιος Αἰμύλιος Ῥωμαῖος οἰκῶν ἐν Δήλῳ.

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### CORRIGENDUM

In *Hesperia*, XVI, No. 2, 1947, plate XXII, middle picture, at the end of the legend delete the word "Dystos."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne*, pp. 358-359; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, pp. 222, 262; W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 30, 165-168; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List*, pp. 191-192; W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> Dinsmoor (*The Athenian Archon List*, p. 242) found no evidence for ordinary or intercalary years between 160/59 and 155/4 B.C. However, on page 243 he reduced the possibilities to three schemes, all of which made the year 157/6 B.C. intercalary. Pritchett and Meritt (*Chronology*, pp. xxix and 129; cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 130) adduced evidence to show that the year 159/8 B.C. was ordinary, but they did not discuss the year 157/6 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Strictly speaking, the proof applies only to the year at Delos, but it seems an entirely plausible assumption that under Athenian rule the intercalary years at Delos were identical with intercalary years at Athens.

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- Εὔχειρ Εὐβ[ουλίδου] [Κρωπιδής], sculptor *ca.* 167 B.C., 164 (63)
- [Ζωῖλος Σέ]ξτον (Αἰξωνεύς), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 6)
- Ζώπυρος, archon 186/5, 166 (64 54); [Ζώπυ]ρος, 166 (64 47-48)
- Ζώπυ[ρος ---], in a catalogue of Erechtheis *ca.* 180 A.D., 180 (84 B 1)
- [Ζ]ώσιμος, prytanis of Hippothontis *ca.* 175 A.D., 179 (82 6)
- [Ζώσι]μος Βακχυλ[ίδου] (Γαργήτιος), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 177 (79 B 5)
- Ἡγήμων, archon in 327/6, 184 (90 2)
- Ἡγήτωρ (Οἰναῖος), *ca.* 210 B.C., father of ---ης, 188 (94 2)
- Ἡρακ[---], prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 21)
- [Ἡρ]ακλε[---] (Ἐστιαῖος), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 178 (79 B 14)
- Ἡρακλείδης Αλ[---], in a decree of 161/0, 166 (64 37)
- Θα[ρρῖνος] Λα[μπτρεύς], secretary of epheboi 128/7, 170 (66 136)
- Θεογείτων θεοτίμ[ο] (υ) Οἰναῖος, ephebos of Aiantis at end of fourth century B.C., 185 (91 10)
- Θεόδοτος (Φλυεύς), *ca.* 149 B.C., father of Πτολεμαῖος, 170 (67 5)
- Θεοδωρίδης[ς] Πειραι[εύς], orator of a decree mentioned in the ephebic decree of 116/5, 171 (67 32)
- Θεόδωρος (Στειριεύς), prytanis A.D. 150-190, 176 (78 14)
- Θεόμνηστος, *ca.* 333 B.C., father of [--- ...], 154 (47 3)
- Θεότιμ[ο] (ς) (Οἰναῖος), *ca.* 325 B.C., father of Θεογείτων, 185 (91 10)
- Θεόφιλος, archon in 227/6, 160 (55 2)
- Θεόφιλος[ς ---]ιος, in a decree of 161/0, 166 (64 52)
- Θρακίδης[ς], on a late tombstone, 183 (89)
- Ἰερ[---] (Ἀναφλύστιος), *ca.* 137 A.D., father of [---]ος, 179 (81 5)
- [Ἰέρων Ἀναγυρά]σιος, hyperetes of epheboi 128/7, 170 (66 136)
- Ἰούνι[ος ---] (Ἀναγυράσιος), in a catalogue of Erechtheis *ca.* 180 A.D., 180 (84 B 7)
- Ἰων (Φαληρεύς), *ca.* 194 B.C., father of Σώσος, 165 (64 3)
- Καλλ[ίας ..]ίωνος, ephebos *ca.* 235 B.C., 186 (92 3)
- Κάλλιππο[ς ---], herald in the second century B.C., 162 (59 2)
- Κάλλ[ι]ππο[ς] Δε[ξι]θέου, ephebos of Pandionis *ca.* 235 B.C., 186 (92 14)
- [Καρ]πόδωρος (Γαργήτιος), *ca.* 147 B.C., father of [Καρ]πόδωρος, 178 (79 B 8)
- [Καρ]πόδωρος (Γαργήτιος), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 178 (79 B 8)
- [Κάρ]πος Ἐπιγόν[ου] (Γαργήτιος), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 178 (79 B 7)
- Κ[....] [έξ] Οἶον, husband of [...]ς, 149 (37 2)
- [Κ]λεοσ[---], *ca.* 333 B.C., father of [--- ....]ης, 154 (47 2)
- Κλεοφῶν Δημοφάνου[ς], in a citation of the third century B.C., 155 (50 1)
- Κλέων, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 59)
- [Κ]λύμενος, prytanis of Hippothontis *ca.* 175 A.D., 179 (82 8)
- Κοδράτ[ος]: [Αὐ]ίδιος Κοδράτ[ος] (Μυρρινούσιος), prytanis A.D. 150-190, 176 (78 17)
- Κτησι[κλής] Ὀλυμπιοδώρ[ο]υ Ποτ[άμιος], *ca.* 250 B.C., 157 (51 46-47); [Κ. Ὁ. Πο]τάμιος, 155 (51 4)

- Α[---], in a list of dedicators in the second century B.C., 162 (59 21)  
 Α[---], in a list of dedicators in the second century B.C., 162 (59 22)  
 Α[---] Μειλησία, on tombstone of *ca.* 100 B.C., 172 (68 2)  
 Αάχ[ης], perhaps the son of Melanopos of Aixone, on a dedication of *ca.* 330 B.C., 152 (44 3)  
 Αεύκιο[ς ---], prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 23)  
 Αεωδάμας Ἀριστομάχο[υ], ephebos of Pandionis *ca.* 235 B.C., 186 (92 12)  
 [Α]ουκάνιο[ς] (Ἑλενσεΐνιος), prytanis *ca.* 175 A.D., 179 (82 10)  
 [Ανκίσκος], archon 129/8, 169 (66 126), 170 (66 130)  
 Αυσανίας Αυσίππο(υ) Οἰναῖος, ephebos of Aiantis at end of fourth century B.C., 185 (91 9)  
 [Αυσικλῆς Ἀντιπάτρου Συναλήττιος], akontistes in an ephebe decree of 243/2, 159 (53 9)  
 Αύσιππο(ς) (Οἰναῖος), *ca.* 325 B.C., father of Αυσανίας, 185 (91 9)  
 [Μάγνης (?) Σ]έξστον (Αἰξωνεύς), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 7)  
 [Μακάρτατος], in an epitaph of *ca.* 410 B.C., 148 (36 1)  
 [Μᾶρ. ---], στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας, *ca.* 170 A.D., 179 (81 2)  
 Μεγ[---], father of Δημήτρ[ιος], 173 (73 3)  
 Μελάνωπος, in an epitaph of *ca.* 410 B.C., 148 (36 1)  
 Μενεψεφ (Οἰναῖος), *ca.* 325 B.C., father of Φιλιστίδης, 185 (91 12)  
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 Μην[---] (Ἐρχιεύς), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 178 (79 B 18)  
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 Μουσα[ῖος] (Στειριεύς), prytanis A.D. 150-190, 176 (78 9)  
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 Νικοβούλη, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 63)  
 [Φ]λ. Νικ[όμαχος] (Στειριεύς), prytanis A.D. 150-190, 176 (78 7)  
 Νικοσθένης, archon 167/6, 167 (64 55)  
 [Ν]ικόσ[τ]ρατ[ο]ς Δ[ιο]κλέους Φρεάρρ[ιος], ephebos 117/6, 172 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1009, Col. II, line 71)  
 Νικόφημος, archon 361/0, 150 (41 6)  
 [Νίκων] Βηρύτιος, paidotribes 128/7, 170 (66 134)  
 [Νο]ύμμ[ι]ος [Ἱερο]φάντης [Φα]ληρεύς, αἰείσιτος, *ca.* 180 A.D., 180 (84 A)  
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 Ξενοκλῆς ἐκ Κε[ραμέων], in a decree of 161/0, 166 (64 24)  
 Ξενοκράτης, in a decree of 161/0, 166 (64 51)  
 Ξένων, first century B.C., father of Ἀσκληπιάδης, 173 (70 2)  
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 Ὀλυμπίων, in a decree of 161/0, 166 (64 27)  
 Ὀνασ[---] (Ἀναγυράσιος), in a catalogue of Erechtheis *ca.* 180 A.D., 180 (84 B 9)  
 [Οὐλιάδ]ης (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), *ca.* 150 B.C., father of [Δ]ημήτρ[ιος], 171 (67 26)  
 Ὀφε[---] (Παμβωτάδης), in a catalogue of Erechtheis *ca.* 180 A.D., 180 (84 B 12)  
 Π[---], στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, *ca.* 200 A.D., or later, 183 (88 5)  
 Ἀν. Π[---] (Ἀναγυράσιος), in a catalogue of Erechtheis *ca.* 180 A.D., 180 (84 B 8)  
 [Π]εδιεύς ἐκ Κεραμέων, aphetes 128/7, 170 (66 135)  
 Περικλῆς (Μιλήσιος), first century B.C., father of Ἀ[γ]αθοκλ[ῆς], 173 (71)  
 Ποσειδ[ώνιος], archon 162/1, 165 (64 10); Π[οσειδώνιος], 165 (64 16)  
 Πρέιμο[ς ---], prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 29)  
 Πιρό[κλος]: Κλ' Πιρό[κλος] [Κοί]ντος, proconsul, honored at Athens after 128/9, 175 (76 6-7)  
 Πτολεμαῖος Θεοδότου Φλυεύς, chairman of proedroi 116/5, 170 (67 5)  
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 Πυθίων (Μαραθώνιος), *ca.* 325 B.C., father of Στράτιος, 185 (91 14)  
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Ῥόδων Δ[---] (Στεριεύς), prytanis A.D. 150-190, 176 (78 10)  
 [Ῥ]οῦφο[ς ---] (Ἐρχιεύς), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 178 (79 B 16)

Σ[---], prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 19)  
 Σ[---], prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 28)  
 Σάμος Ἐρχιεύς, in a decree of 161/0, 166 (64 53)  
 Σαρα[π]ια[κός], πανηγυριάρχης *ca.* 200 A.D. or later, 183 (88 4)  
 Σαραπίων, archon 116/5, 170 (67 2)  
 [Σέ]ξτος (Αἰξωνεύς), *ca.* 147 A.D., father of [Ζωίλος], 181 (85 6); [Σ]έξτος, father of [Μάγνης ?], 181 (85 7)  
 [Σέξ]τος Φα[ληρεύς], archon 165/6 A.D., 177 (79 A 1)  
 [Φ]λ. Σεραπ[---], prytanis of Hippothontis *ca.* 175 A.D., 179 (82 3)  
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 Σκ[---], in a list of dedicators in the second century B.C., 162 (59 19)  
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 Σπέ[νδων], ἱεραύλης *ca.* 177/8 or 188/9 A.D., 182 (87 B 4)  
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 Στράτιος Πυθίωνος Μαραθώνιος, ephebos of Aiantis at end of fourth century B.C., 185 (91 14)  
 [Σ]τρατοκλῆς, *ca.* 333 B.C., father of [--- ...], 154 (47 4)  
 [Σύ]μφορος, *ca.* 147 A.D., father of [Σύ]μφορος, 181 (85 10)  
 [Σύ]μφορος), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 10)  
 Συρίσκος, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 61); Συρί[σκος], 167 (64 60)  
 Σωκρ---, *ca.* 215 B.C., father of Χαρίνος, 187 (93 2)  
 Σώσος Ἴωνος Φαληρεύς, chairman of proedroi 161/0, 165 (64 3)  
 Σώστρατος, in a poletai record of *ca.* 250 B.C., 157 (51 48); Σώστρα[τος], 157 (51 44)  
 [Σωτάδης Σο]λεύς, hoplomachos 128/7, 170 (66 134)

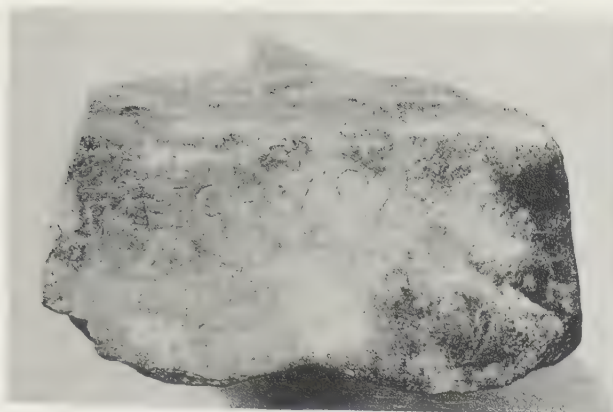
Τειμοκλῆς Ἀλαιεύς, *ca.* 100 B.C., husband of Ἀ[---] Μειλησία, 172 (68 3)  
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 Τ[ιγίος Ποντικὸς] Βησ[εεύς], archon 168/9 A.D., 178 (80)  
 [Τ]ύραννος, prytanis of Hippothontis *ca.* 175 A.D., 179 (82 7)  
 Φ[---], in a list of dedicators in the second century B.C., 162 (59 20)  
 Φ[---], ἀντιγραφεύς, 177/8 or 188/9 A.D., 182 (87 B 3)  
 Φαρν[άκης]: [Αἰ]δίου Φαρν[άκης] (Μυρρινούσιος), prytanis A.D. 150-190, 176 (78 18)  
 Φι<sup>1</sup> [---] (Ἐρχιεύς), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 178 (79 B 19)  
 [Φι]λίσσιος Διοπ[είθους -----], chairman of proedroi *ca.* 181 B.C., 163 (61 3-4)  
 Φίλιππος (Αἰγείδος), *ca.* 255 B.C., father of ... μος, 186 (92 9)  
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 [Φιλωνίδης] (Ἐλευσίνιος), *ca.* 194 B.C., father of Βακ[χύλος], 165 (64 1)  
 Χα[---] Ἀ[---] (Δειραδιώτης), διατηγῆς after 350 B.C., 152 (43)  
 Χαρ[<sup>3</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>4</sup>] (Αἰθαλίδης), *ca.* 137 B.C., father of Δωσίθεος, 172 (I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1009, Col. II, line 67)  
 [Χαρ]ικλείδης, archon 363/2, 151 (41 14)  
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 Χαρίσανδ[ρος --- Ἀλιμούσιος], hoplomachos in an ephebe decree of 243/2, 159 (53 10)  
 [...]σ[---] (Παμβωτάδης), in a catalogue of Erechtheis *ca.* 180 A.D., 180 (84 B 13)  
 [...]νιον, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 56)

- [...]ο[...]σιος [Ε]ὐμόλπου [Προ]βαλείσιος, in a citation of Roman date, 174 (74)
- [...]σιος Ἀχαρνέως, in a poletai record of *ca.* 250 B.C., 157 (51 42)
- ...ωνος (genitive), *ca.* 255 B.C., father of Καλλ[ίας], 186 (92 3)
- [...]ει[---], prytanis of Hippothontis *ca.* 175 A.D., 179 (82 1)
- [...]είων (Γαργήτιος), *ca.* 157 A.D., father of [Δη]μήτριος, 182 (87 A 6)
- [...]κριτος Φίλωνο(ς) Μαραθώνιος, ephebos of Aiantis at end of fourth century B.C., 185 (91 16)
- [...]ς, wife of Κ[.... ἐξ] Οἴου, on a funerary monument of *ca.* 400 B.C., 149 (37 1)
- [...]υλλος (Γαργήτιος), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 178 (79 B 12)
- [<sup>-3 1/2</sup>-]αρίστη, daughter of [<sup>-3 1/2</sup>-]ρατος or [<sup>-3 1/2</sup>-]ράτης, on a tombstone of the third century B.C. (?), 154 (49 1)
- [<sup>-3 1/2</sup>-]ράτης or [<sup>-3 1/2</sup>-]ρατος, third century B.C. (?), father of [<sup>-3 1/2</sup>-]αρίστη, 154 (49 2)
- ...άνη[ς] Διοκλέου[ς], ephebos of Pandionis *ca.* 235 B.C., 186 (92 13)
- [....]ιος Δ (Γαργήτιος), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 177 (79 B 4)
- [....]ιος (Γαργήτιος), *ca.* 147 A.D., father of [....]ιος, 177 (79 B 4)
- [....]κράτης Βακ[χυλί]δου (Γαργήτιος), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 177 (79 B 6)
- [....]νος (Γαργήτιος), *ca.* 147 A.D., father of [....]νος, 177 (79 B 3)
- [....]νος Δ (Γαργήτιος), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 177 (79 B 3)
- ...<sup>5</sup>...μος Φιλίππου, ephebos of Aigeis *ca.* 235 B.C., 186 (92 9)
- [....]ος Διον[---] (Τρινημαίως), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 13)
- [....]ς (Τρινημαίως), *ca.* 147 A.D., father of [....]ς, 181 (85 12)
- [....]ς Δ (Τρινημαίως), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 12)
- [...<sup>7</sup>...κλῆς Παμνούσιος, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 57)
- [.....<sup>13</sup>.....]ο---, ephebos of Leontis *ca.* 235 B.C., 186 (92 16)
- [.....<sup>13</sup>.....]πε---, ephebos of Leontis *ca.* 235 B.C., 186 (92 17)
- [<sup>-ca. 6</sup>-]ν Σαλαμίνιος, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 55)
- [<sup>-ca. 14</sup>-]ικός, prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 15)
- [<sup>-ca. 15</sup>-]δου (genitive of patronymic), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 14)
- [---]ᾶδης, on a dedication of *ca.* 325 B.C., 153 (45 5)
- [--- A]ἰξωνέως, in a poletai record of *ca.* 250 B.C., 156 (51 33)
- [--- Ἀσκλη]πιάδου, in a citation of the first century B.C. (?), 173 (70 2)
- [--- Ἀ]φροδει[---], eponymos in a prytany register of 165/6 A.D., 177 (79 A 5)
- [---] Βο[υτάδης], in a prytany inscription of A.D. 150-190, 176 (78 2)
- [--- Ἐλ]ευσίνιο[ς], in a poletai record of *ca.* 250 B.C., 156 (51 35)
- [---]ένης, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 58)
- [--- ἐξ] Οἴου, third century B.C. (?), husband of [<sup>-3 1/2</sup>-]αρίστη, 154 (49 5)
- [--- .. Εὐ]αίετο[υ], in a list of *ca.* 300 B.C., 154 (47 5)
- [---] Εὐπυρίδης, in a decree of 161/0, 166 (64 26-27)
- [---]η, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 60)
- [---]ης Ἡγήτορος Οἰ[ναῖος], secretary in 177/6, 188 (94 2-3)
- [--- .....]η[ς Κ]λεοσ[---], in a list of *ca.* 300 B.C., 154 (47 2)
- [--- .....] Θεομνήστου, in a list of *ca.* 300 B.C., 154 (47 3)
- [--- Κ]ικυννε[ύς], in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 68)
- [---]κλεια, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 57-58)
- [--- κλ]εια, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 59-60)
- κλέο(υς) (Αἰαντίδος), ephebos at end of fourth century B.C., 185 (91 3)
- [--- κλέους Εὐωνυμέως], kosmetes in an ephebe decree of 243/2, 159 (53 5)
- [--- κλῆς] (Εὐωνυμέως), *ca.* 276 B.C., father of [---], 159 (53 5)
- [---] Κολων[ῆθεν], in a poletai record of *ca.* 250 B.C., 157 (51 54)
- [--- Κυδαθη]ναίως, in a poletai record of *ca.* 250 B.C., 156 (51 7-8)

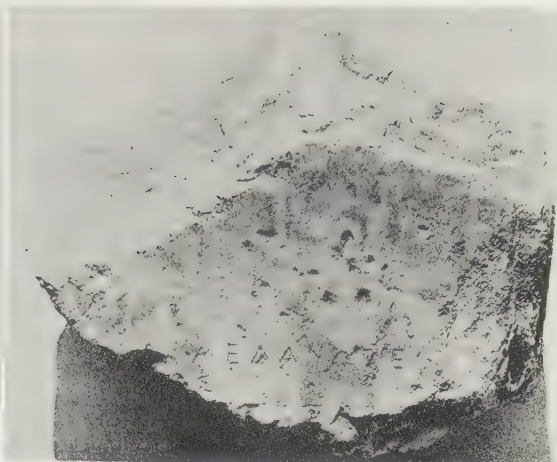
- [---] Λακιάδης, in a poletai record of *ca.* 250 B.C., 157 (51 48)
- --λεο(ς) (Αἰαντίδος), ephebos at end of fourth century B.C., 185 (91 6)
- [---] Μελιτε[ύς], in a poletai record of *ca.* 250 B.C., 156 (51 34)
- --νον (Αἰαντίδος), ephebos at end of fourth century B.C., 185 (91 2)
- --νονο(ς) (Αἰαντίδος), ephebos at end of fourth century B.C., 185 (91 4)
- [---] ῥόδημος Ἐλ[ευσίνιος], in a poletai record of *ca.* 250 B.C., 156 (51 31)
- [---] ὁ --- Μαραθῶ[ν]ιος νεώ[τερος], archon *ca.* 200 A.D. or later, 183 (88 2-3)
- [---] ο[---] (Μυρρινούσιος), prytanis A.D. 150-190, 176 (78 20)
- [---] ος, orator 161/0, 165 (64 4)
- [---] ος Εὐ[---] (Μυρρινούσιος), prytanis A.D. 150-190, 176 (78 19)
- [---] ος Ἱερ[---] (Ἀναφλύστιος), prytanis *ca.* 170 A.D., 179 (81 5)
- [---] οχάρης (Χολαργεύς), second century B.C., father of [---], 162 (59 5)
- [---] οχάρου Χολαργεύς, hoplite general in the second century B.C., 162 (59 5)
- [---] Π[αιανι]εύς, on a dedication of *ca.* 325 B.C., 153 (45 4)
- [---] Παμνούσιος, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 56-57)
- ρίων(ος) (Αἰαντίδος), ephebos at end of fourth century B.C., 185 (91 7)
- [-----] ρος (Αἰξωνεύς), *ca.* 147 A.D., father of [---] ρος, 181 (85 8)
- [-----] ρος) (Αἰξωνεύς), prytanis *ca.* 180 A.D., 181 (85 8)
- [---] ρσε[---] (Κολλυτεύς), prytanis 165/6 A.D., 177 (79 A 7)
- [---] ς Κηφισι[εύς], on a dedication of *ca.* 325 B.C., 153 (45 2)
- [---] ς Κυδα[θηναίων] (or -ντίδης), secretary *ca.* 200 B.C., 161 (58 4)
- [--- ... Σ] τρατοκλέους, in a list of *ca.* 300 B.C., 154 (47 4)
- [---] Σφήττιο[ς], on a dedication of *ca.* 325 B.C., 153 (45 3)
- [---] τεύς, in a poletai record of *ca.* 250 B.C., 156 (51 26)
- [---] της, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 62)
- --του (Αἰαντίδος), ephebos at end of fourth century B.C., 185 (91 5)
- [---] Χολλείδης, in a decree of 161/0, 167 (64 55-56)
- [---] ων Δαιδαλίδης, in a poletai record of *ca.* 250 B.C., 156 (51 25)







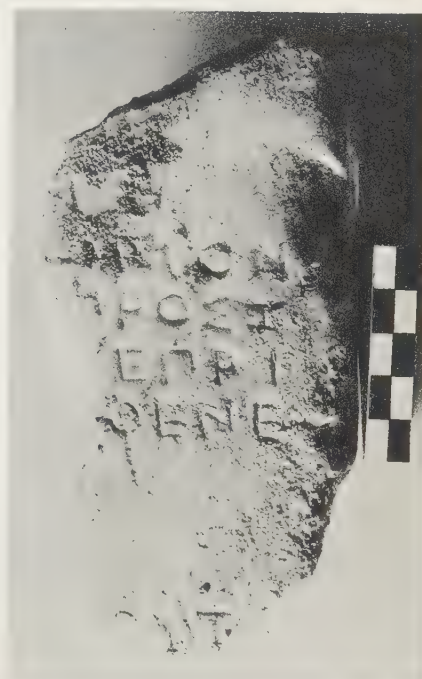
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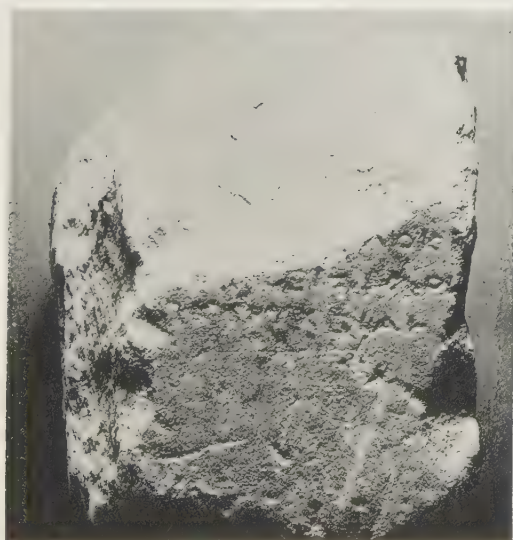
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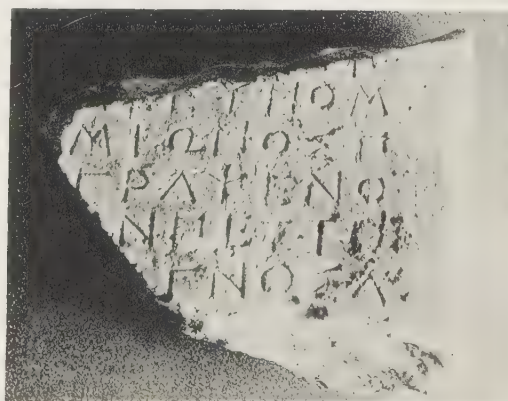
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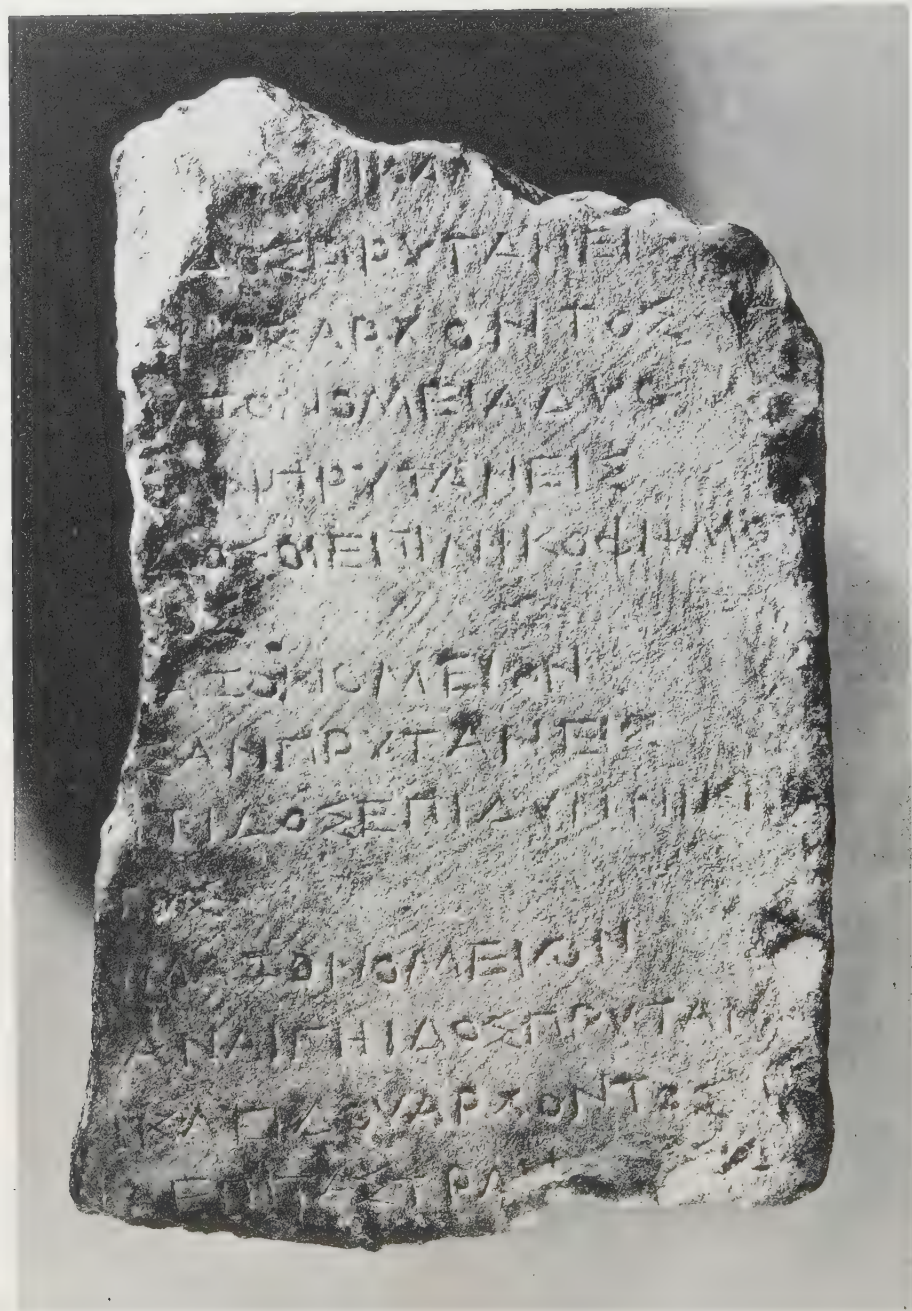
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39



40







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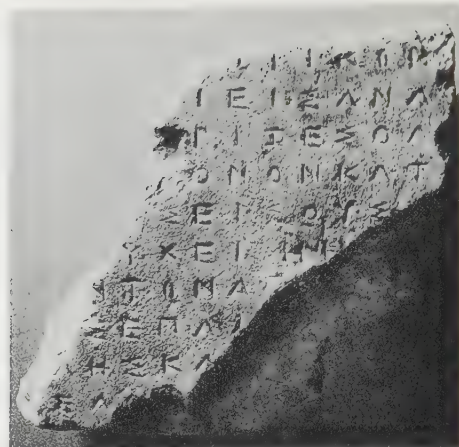


44

## PLATE XXVI



45



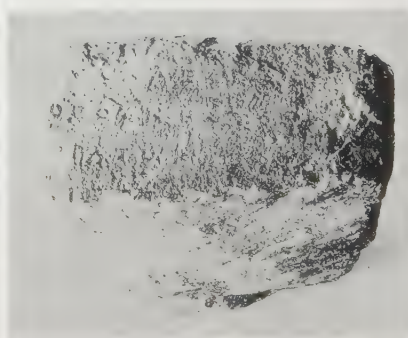
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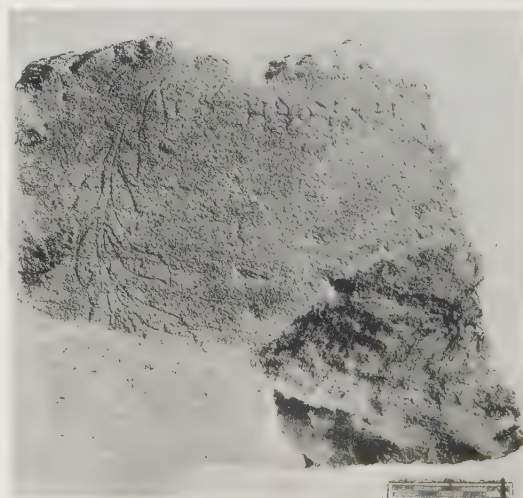
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47

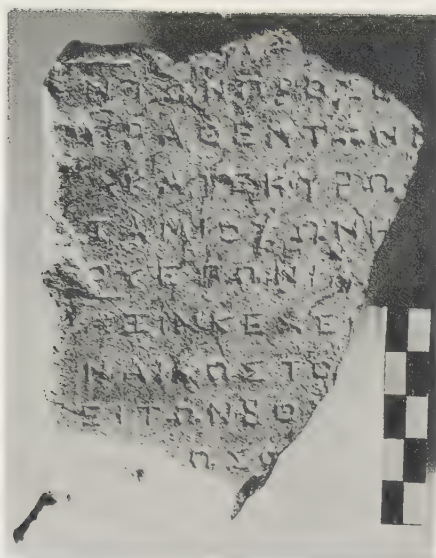


48 Face A



48 Face B

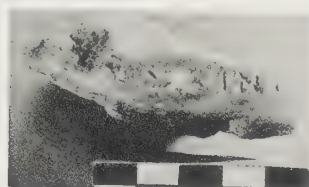




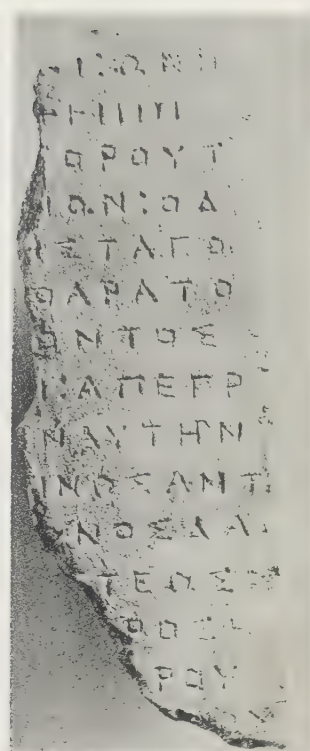
51 Frag. a



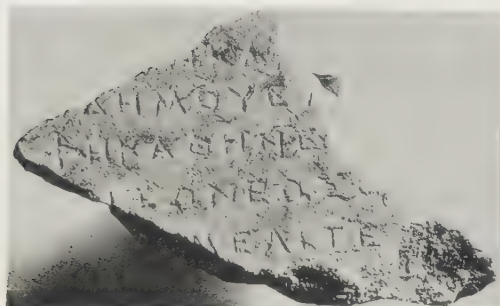
51 Frag. b



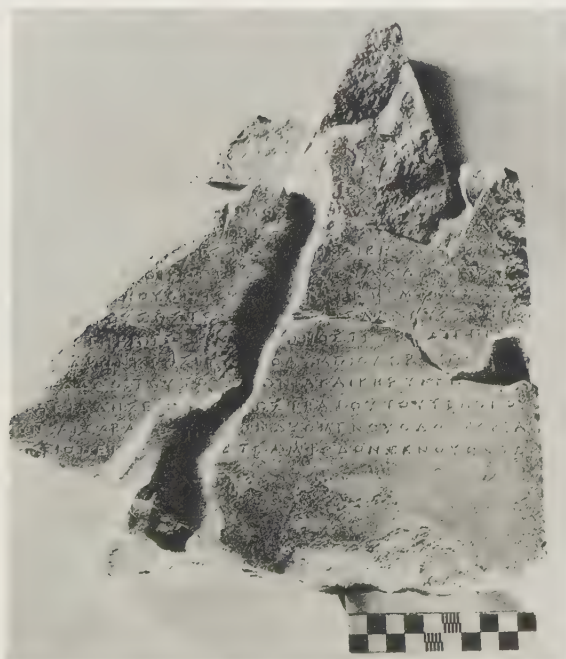
51 Frag. e



51 Frag. c



51 Frag. d

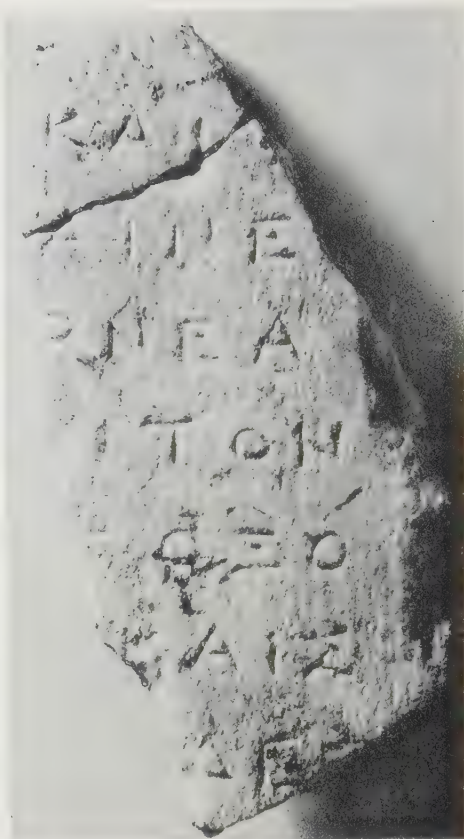
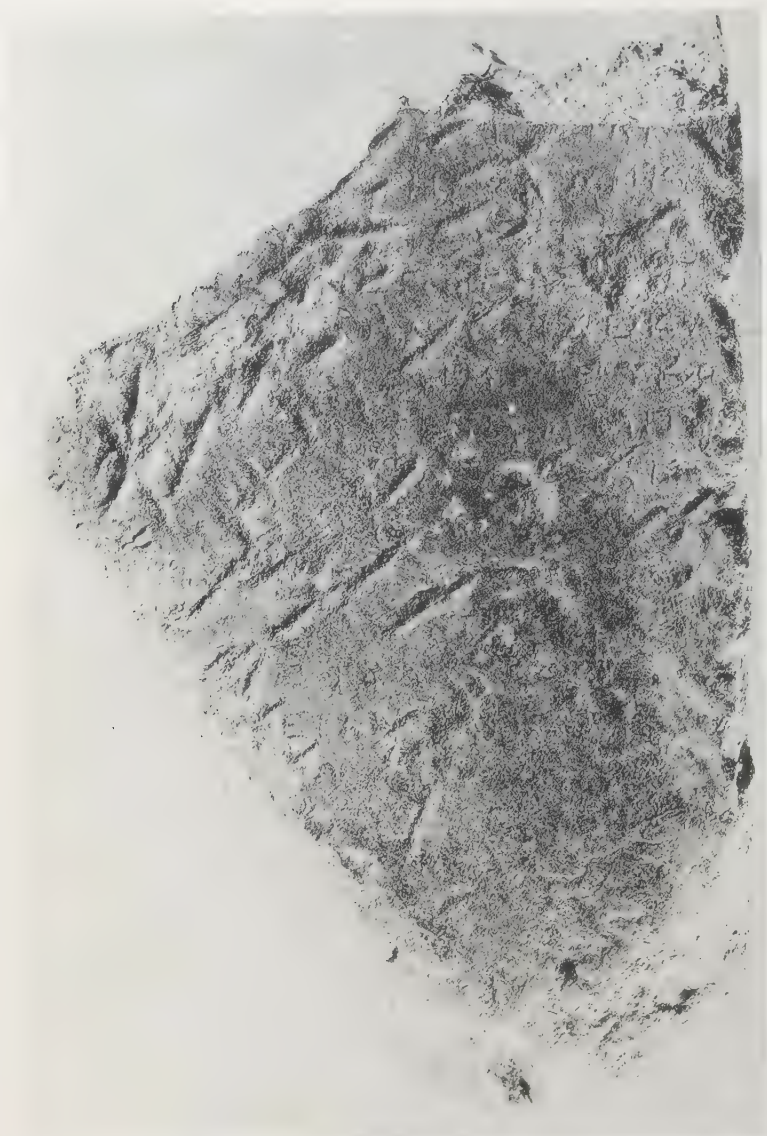


51 Frag. f Face A

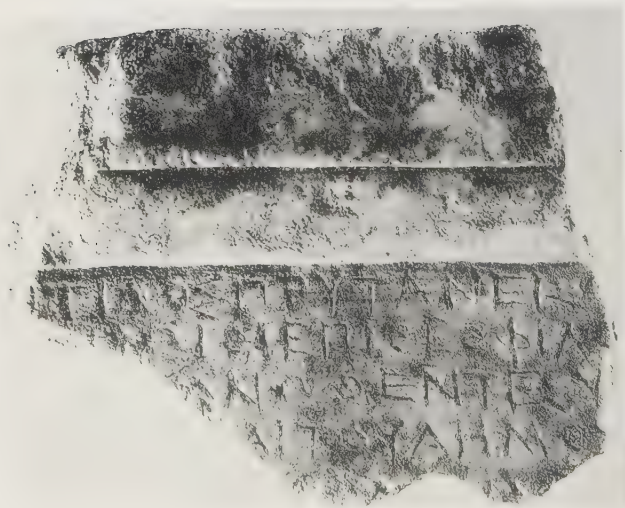


51 Frag. f Face B





53

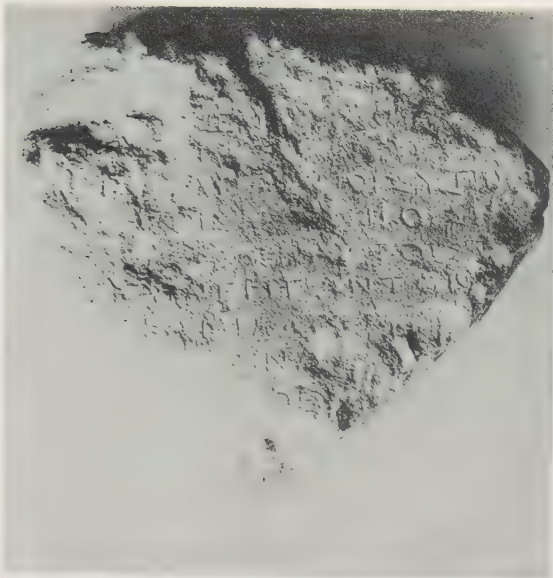


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56



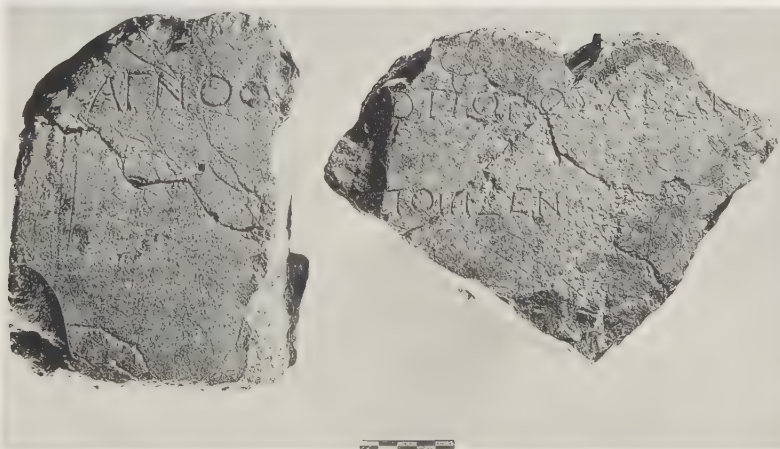
57



58



59



a

60

b



PLATE XXX



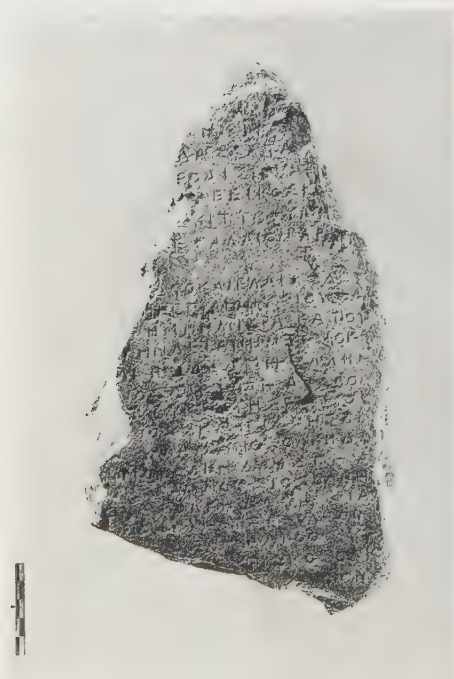
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63



62

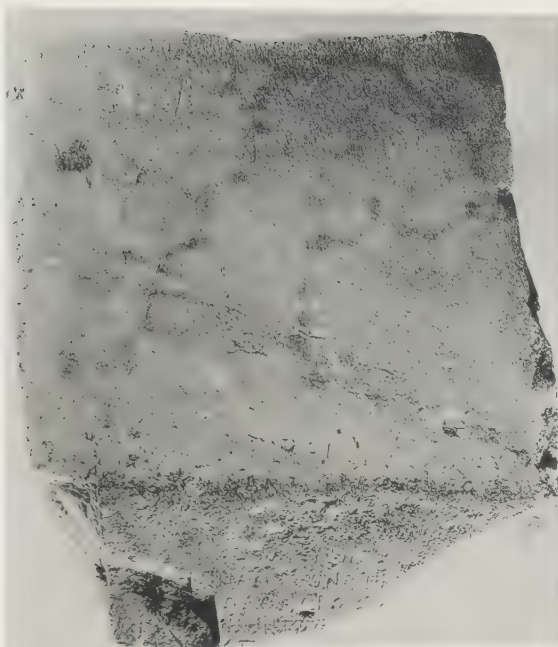


64 Frag. F

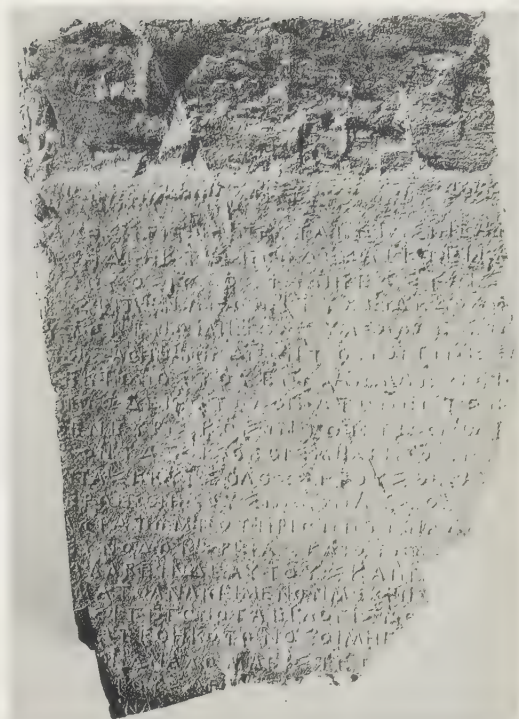


64 Frag. G

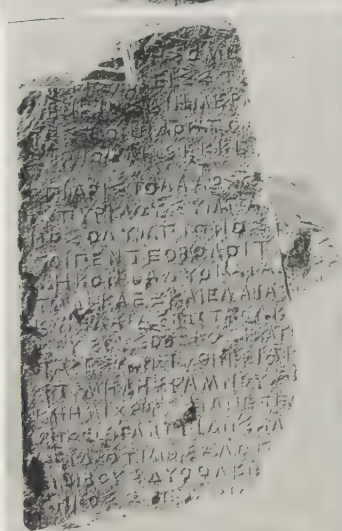




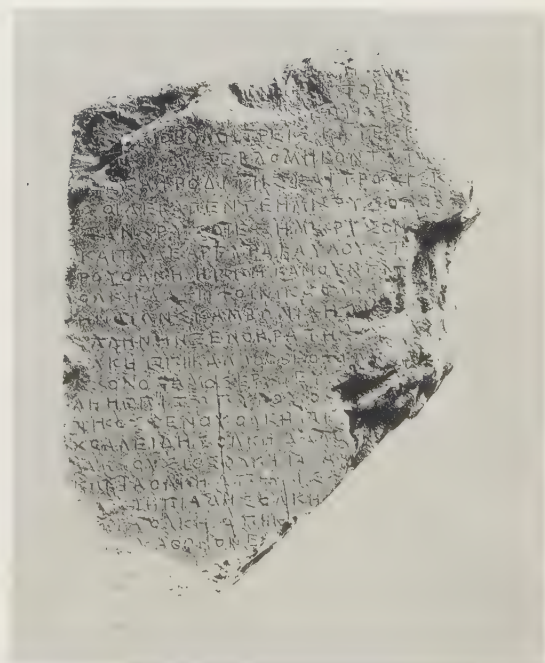
64 Frag. A



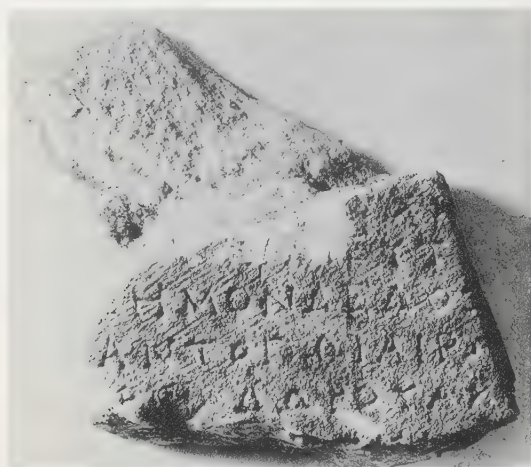
64 Frag. B



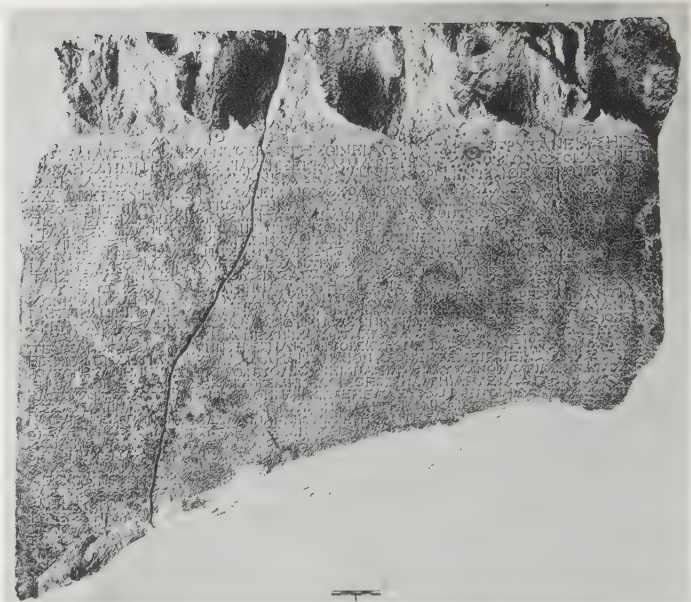
64 Frags. C, D



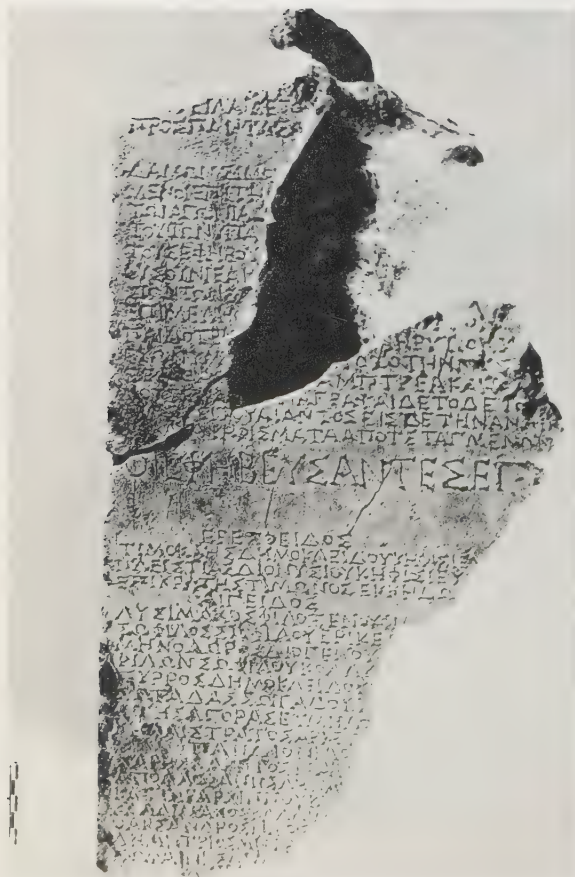
64 Frag. E



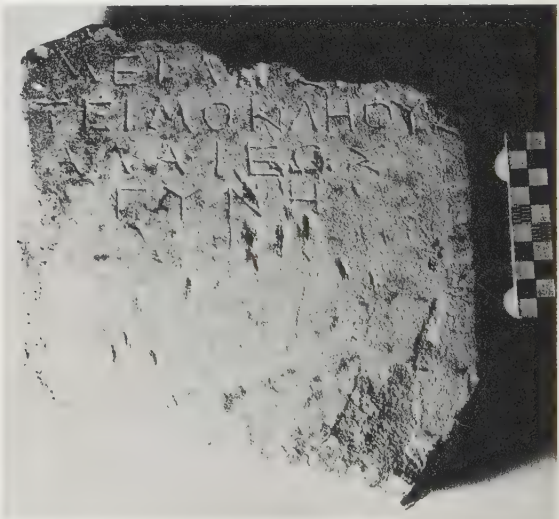
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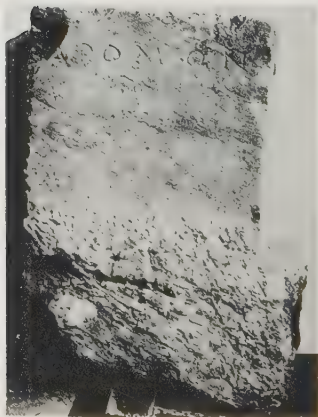
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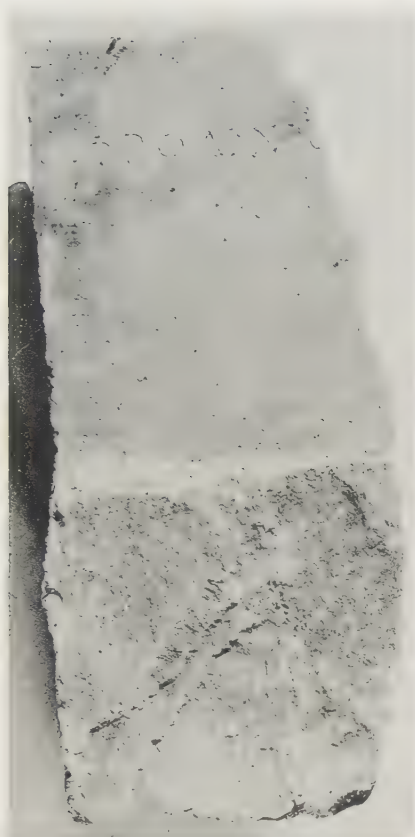




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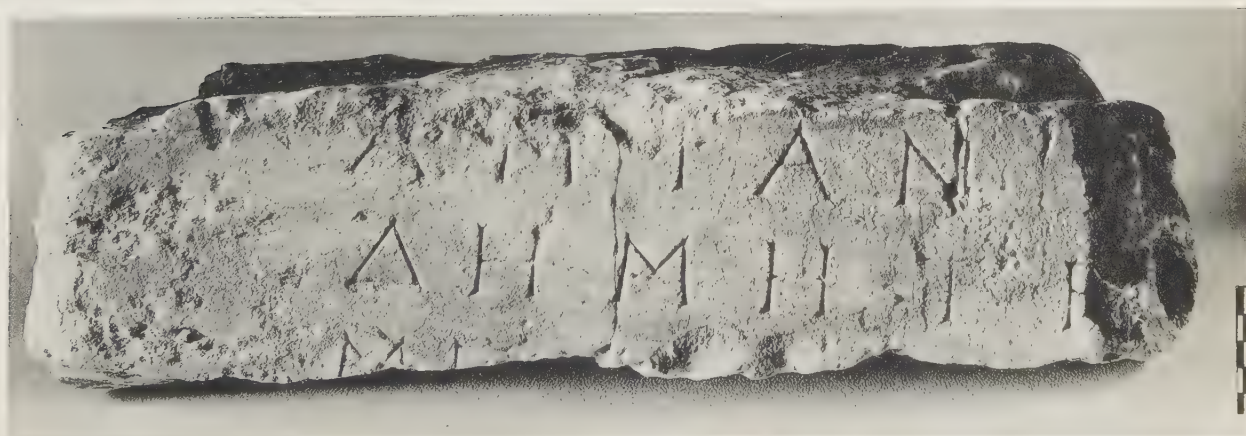
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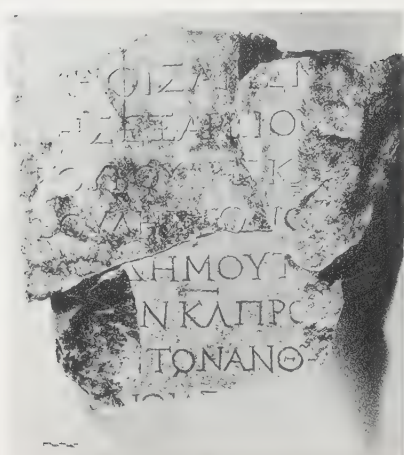


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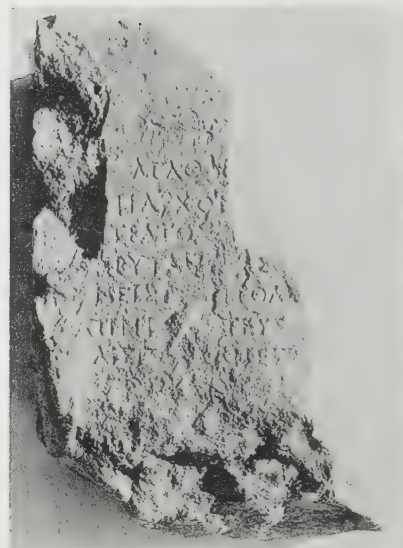




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78a



77



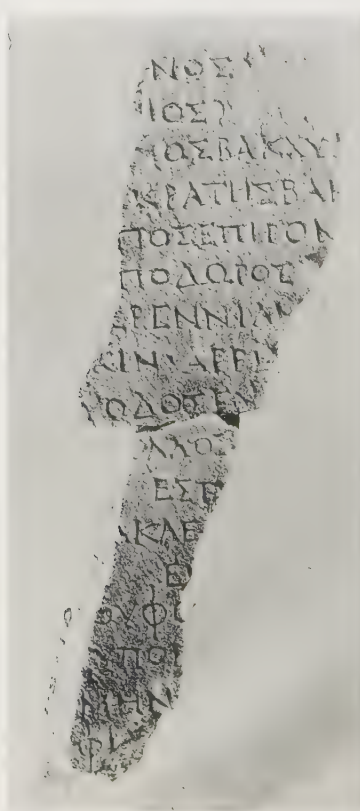
78d



79 Frag. a Face A



79 Frag. b Face A



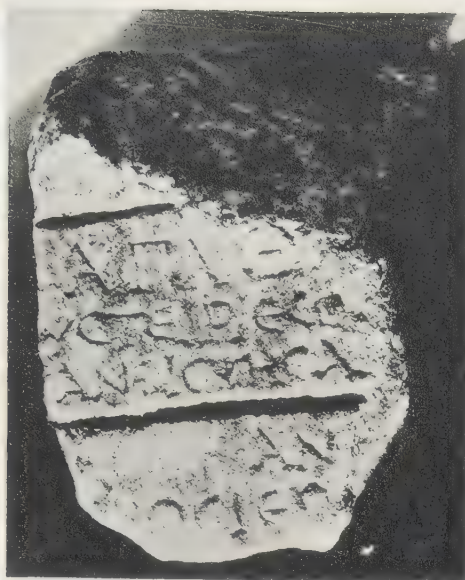
79 Frag. a Face B



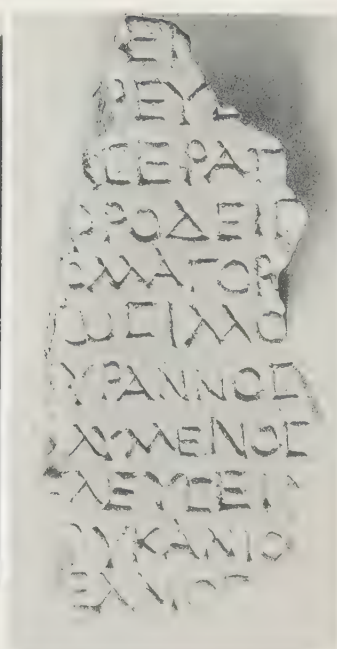
79 Frag. b Face B



80



81



82

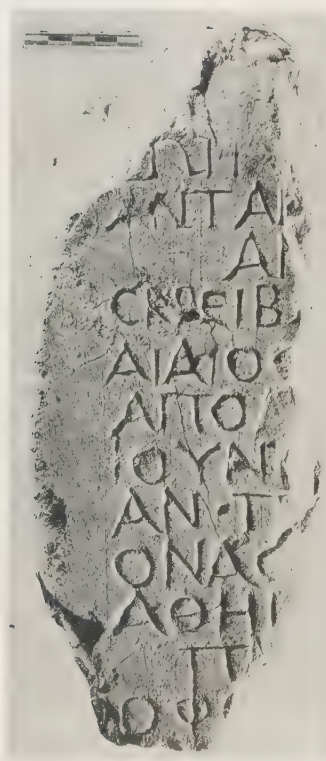


83



84

Face A



Face B

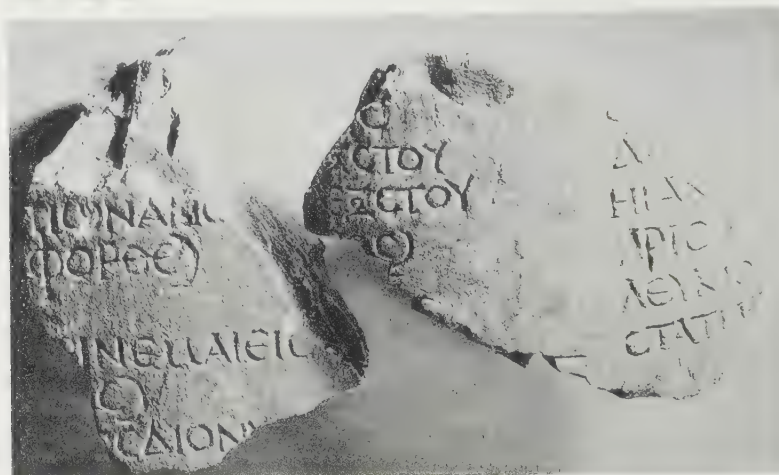




85 Frag. a



85 Frag. d



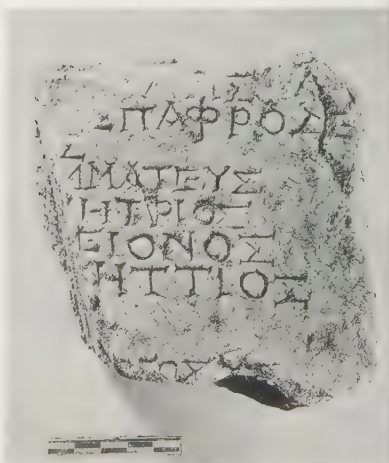
Frag. c

85

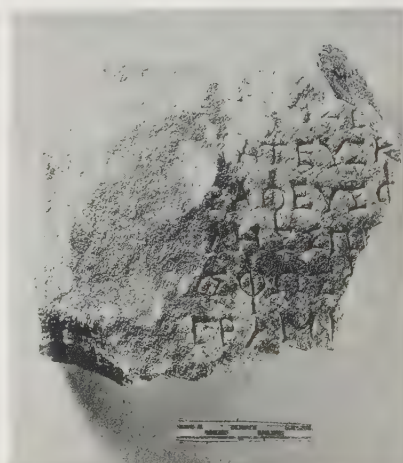
Frag. b



87

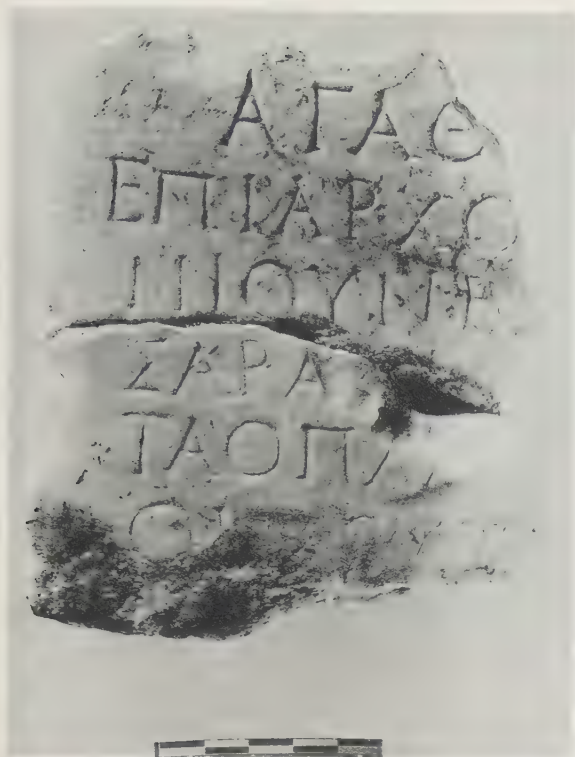


87 Face A



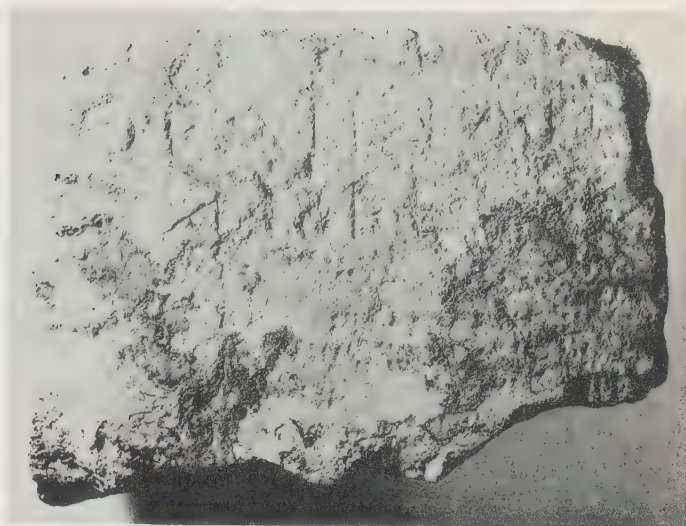
87 Face B





88

MERITT: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

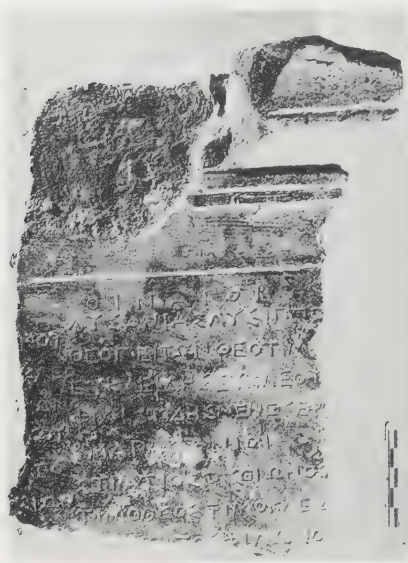


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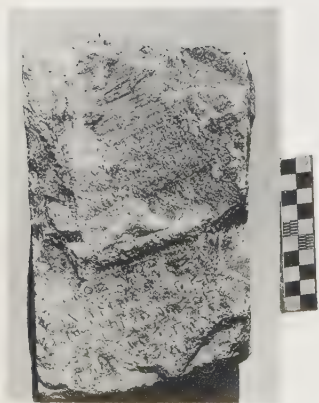


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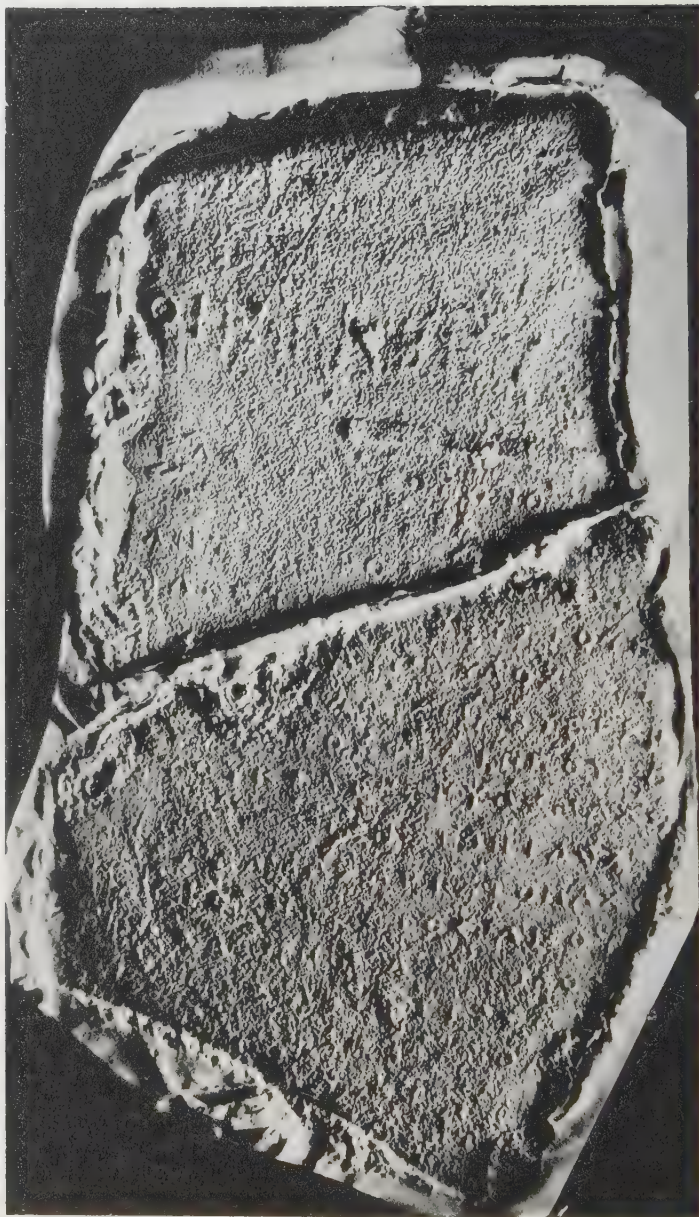
PRITCHETT: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS



91

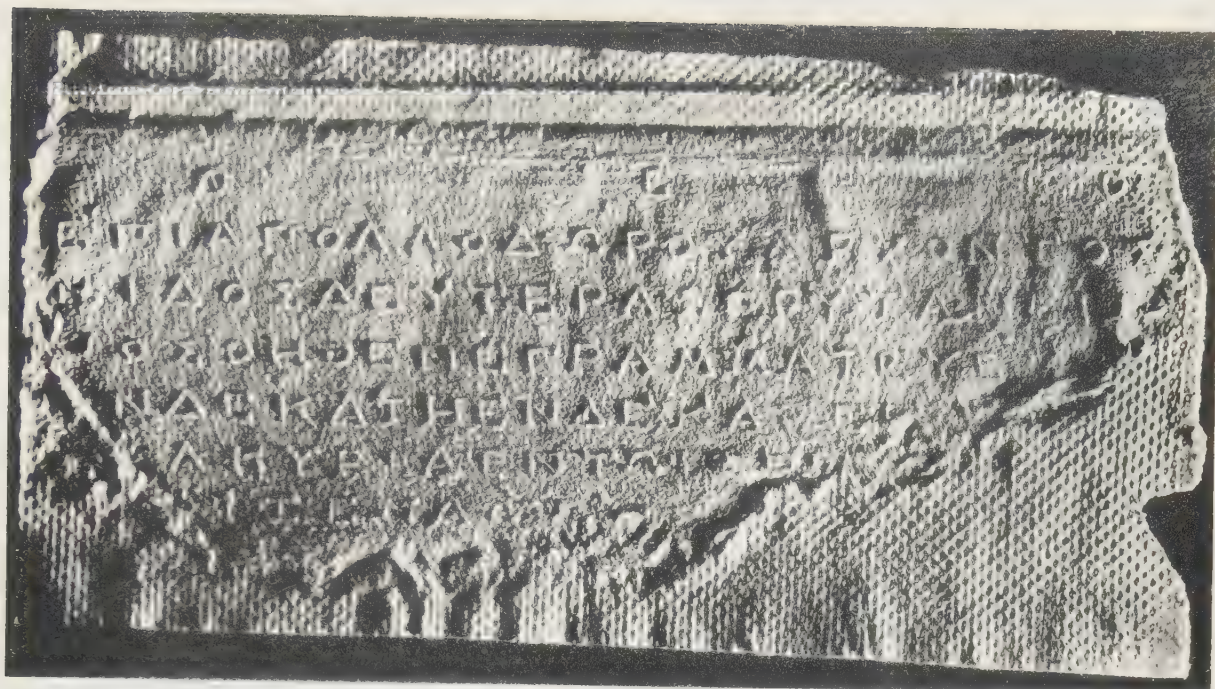


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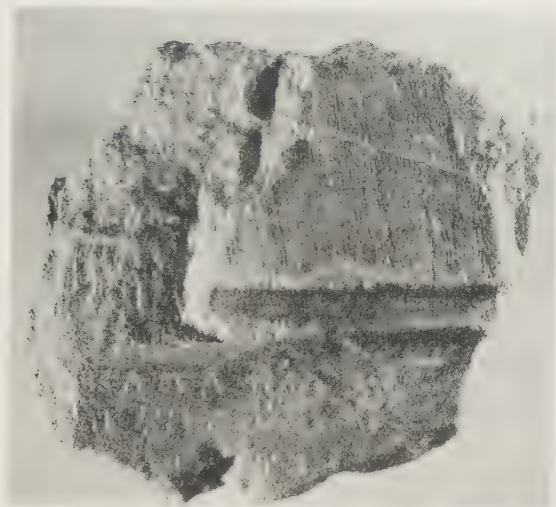


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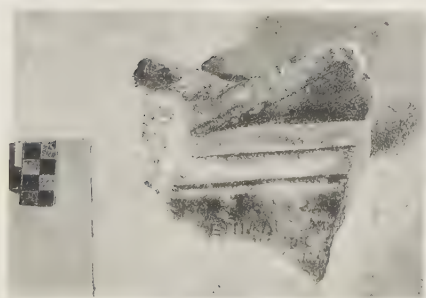




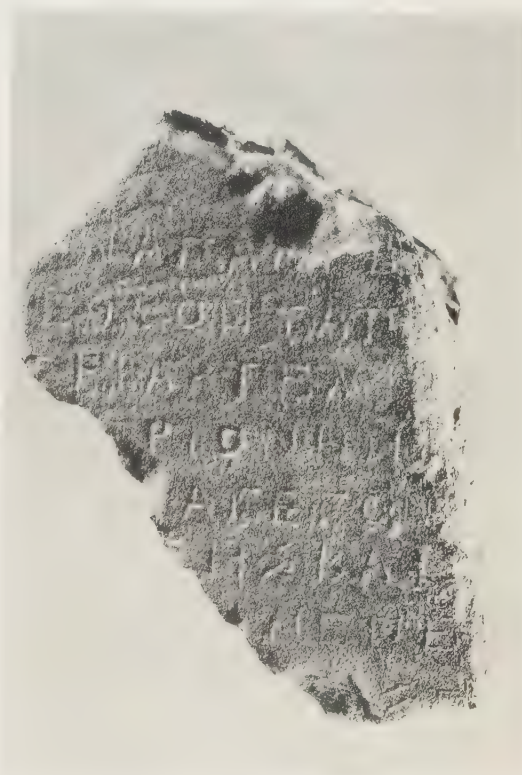
*I. G., II<sup>2</sup>, 973*



94

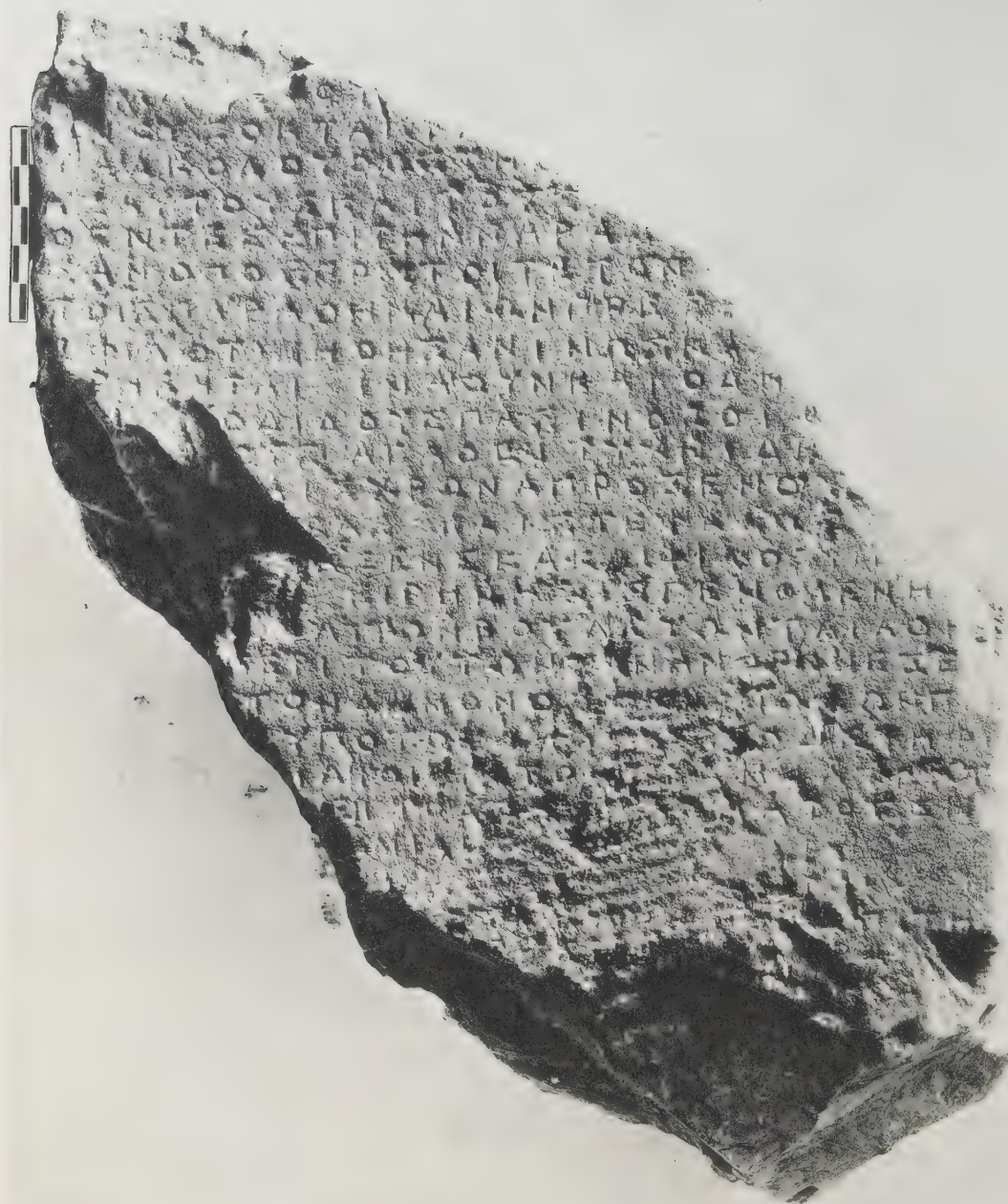


95



96





*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 845

PRITCHETT: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS



1. Vases from Geometric Burial



2. Iron Sword and Knife from Geometric Burial

THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1940-46



PLATE XLII



1. View Southeastward from Roof of Hephaisteion, August, 1946. Arrow Points to Northwest Corner of Middle Stoa. For View from Same Point in 1939 cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 276, fig. 12



2. Marble Standard for Roof Tiles





1. Odeion from North, Middle Stoa in Background, Temple of Ares to Right



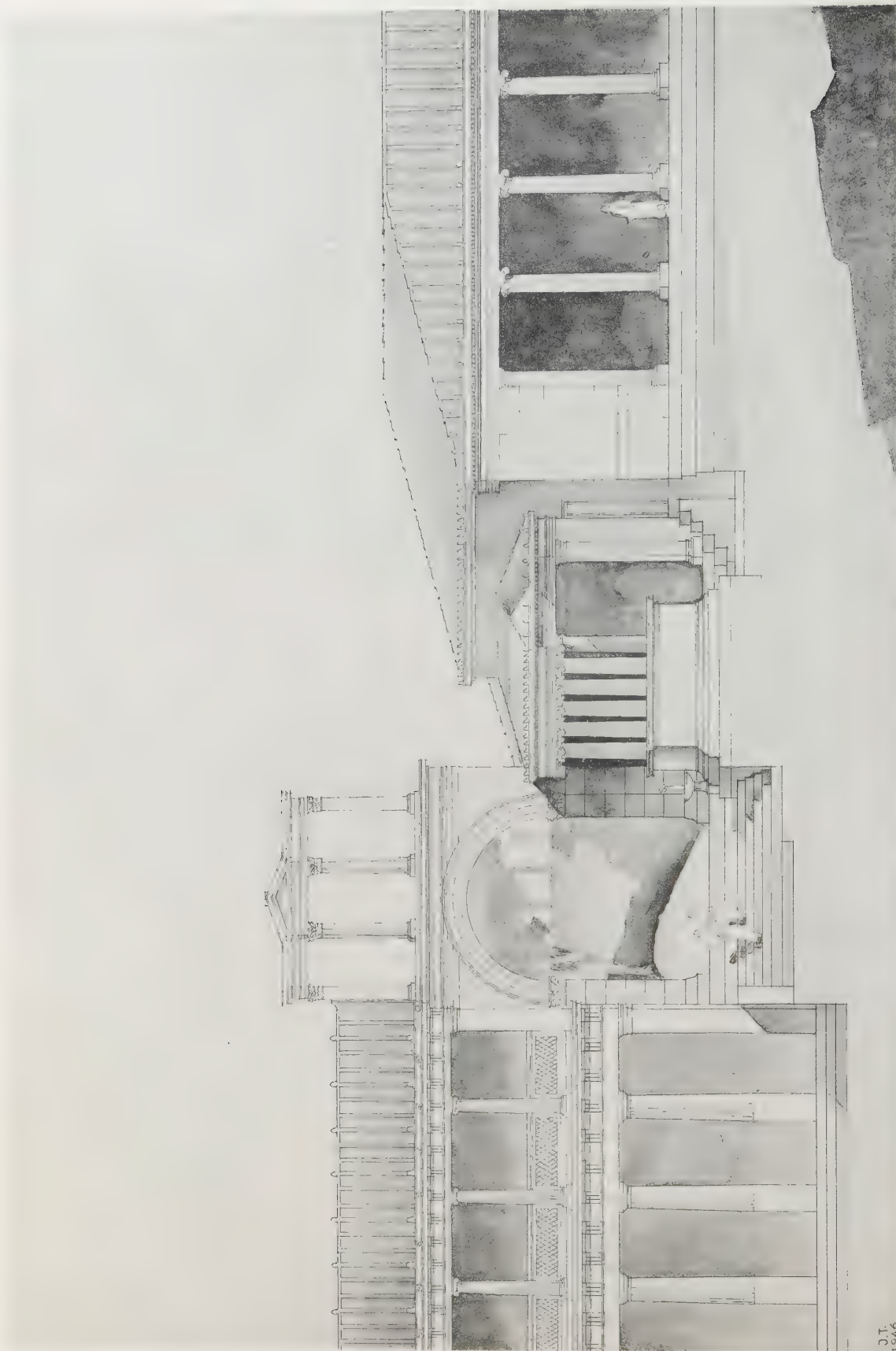
2. Museum Site from Northwest. In Background, Left to Right, Areopagus, Monument of Philopappos, Pnyx



3. Rectangular Shaft and Floor of Water Basin at West End of Areopagus — from West



4. Poros Lion's Head Found Near Altar of Twelve Gods



South End of Stoa of Attalos, Library of Pantainos: West Elevation, Restored





1. Three-Quarter View of Head  
Shown on Plate XLIII, 4



2. Marble Head of Youth



3. Terracotta Figurine of Nike



4. Terracotta Figurine of A Warrior



PLATE XLVIII



1. Sigillata Bowl

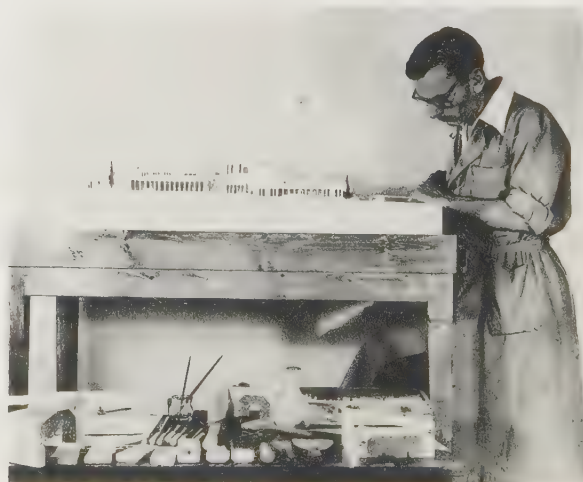


2. Stamp on Sigillata Bowl



3. Bowl with Plastic Decoration

4. Model of The West Side of The Agora.  
The Tools, Templates, and Moulds Used  
in Making The Model Are Shown in The  
Foreground



# ATHENS

## PLAN OF THE ANCIENT AGORA



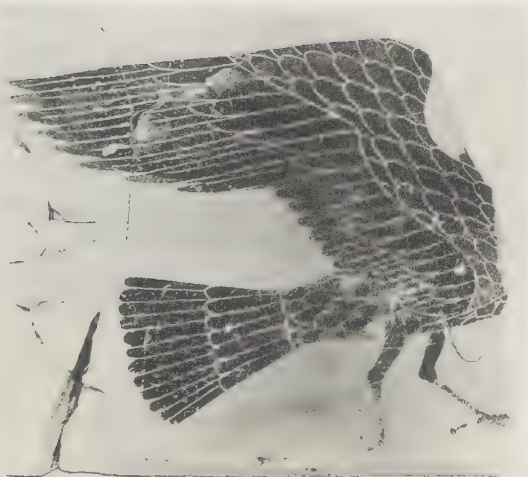
PLATE XLIX. The Agora in the Second Century A.D., Restored



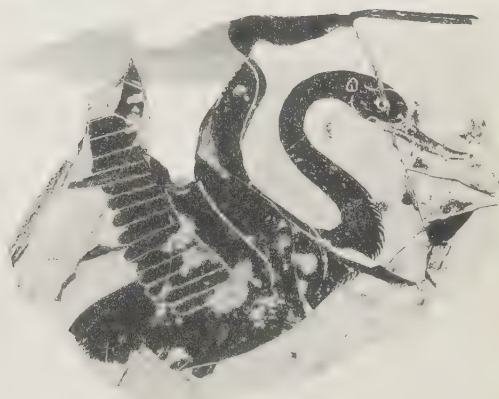




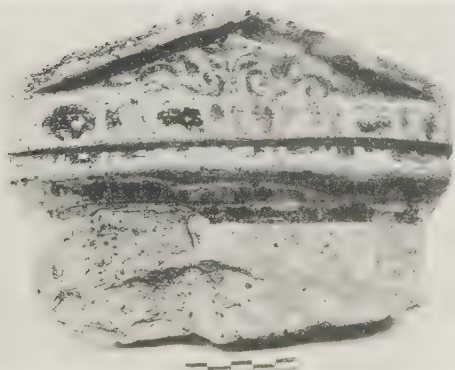
1. Fragment of Altar from South Stoa



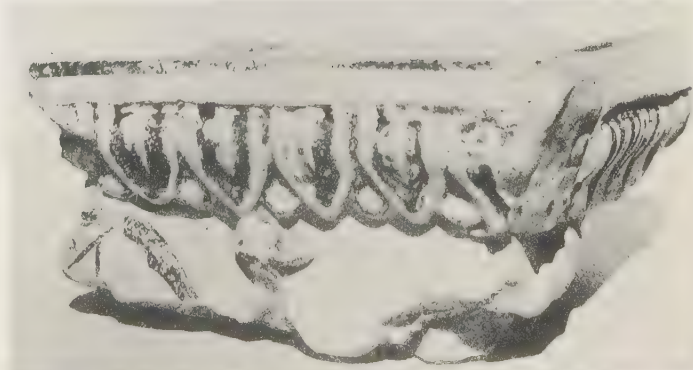
2. Front Panel of Altar



3. Left Side of Altar



4. Fragment of Altar with Gabled Top



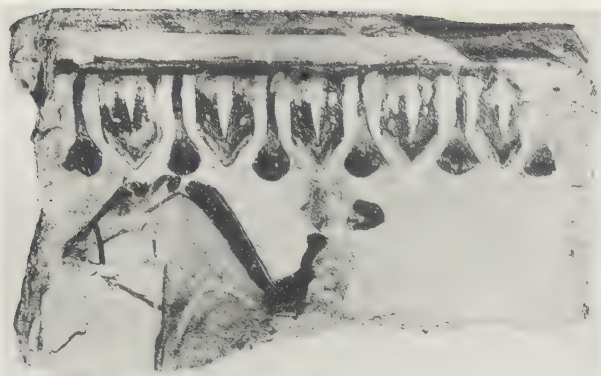
5. Front Face of Larger Fragment from Tile Factory



Altar Found in 192-9, Front and Side View

BRONEER: CORINTHIAN ALTAR PAINTER

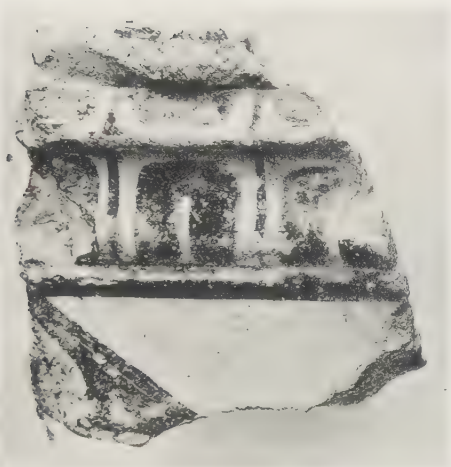




1. Smaller Fragment from Tile Factory



2. Waster from Tile Factory



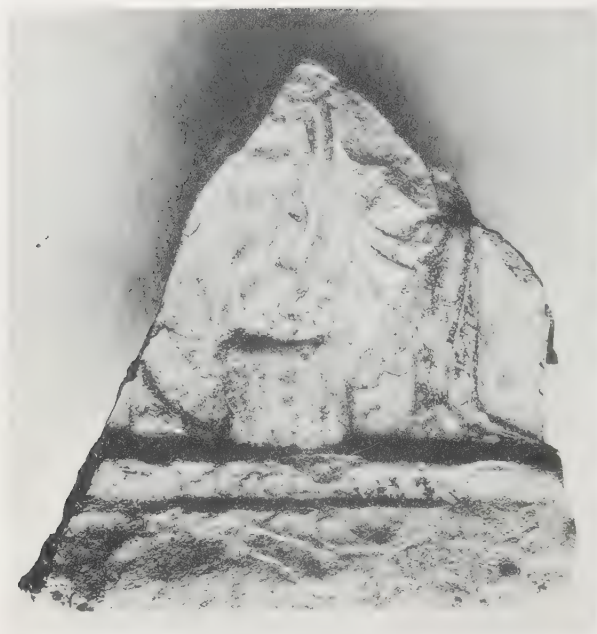
3.  
Fragments of Two Altars  
with Painted Decoration

4.



5. Fragment of Altar with Figure of Runners





1. Corner of Altar with Figures in Relief



3. Fragment of Altar from Fifth-Century Well



2. Terracotta Altar from Fifth-Century Well

BRONEER: CORINTHIAN ALTAR PAINTER

## INVESTIGATIONS AT CORINTH, 1946-1947

(PLATES LIV-LXVI)

LAST year marked the half century since the beginning of the excavations at Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies. During those fifty years the work has been three times interrupted on account of wars in which Greece has been involved. The last and longest of these interruptions, during World War II, lasted six years. The work was resumed in the fall of 1946, but no full-fledged campaign of excavation could be carried on because the post-war policy established by the Greek Government limits for the present archaeological investigation to monuments and areas already excavated before the war. In view of these restrictions a maximum of ten workmen were employed in the cleaning and supplementary excavations in the several areas. During the fall a smaller force was engaged in various repairs and other essential activities in the excavations and the Museum.

The safety measures taken at the outbreak of the war had to be undone in order to make the antiquities available to visitors. In the excavations certain monuments, like the Sacred Spring, had been covered with stones and earth in order to protect precious antiquities from damage. In the Museum all the vases and other fragile objects had been wrapped in cotton and sawdust and stored away in wooden boxes, and the sculpture room had been filled with sand to a depth of 30 cm. As a result of these precautionary measures the Museum was left intact except for about 35 window panes shattered by stray bullets or willful vandalism; and in the excavations the losses were limited to a few architectural fragments and some decorated roof terracottas from the South Stoa. The general confusion and lawlessness which prevailed during the war years and the subsequent period had resulted in the destruction and removal of most of the fences, gates, and locks, and even of the stone walls built to protect the antiquities. Furthermore, the unchecked growth of weeds and shrubbery, particularly the pernicious caper plant, had left the excavations in a shabby condition and caused destruction to some of the antiquities.

It became our first concern in the fall of 1946 to repair these damages as far as possible, to take the necessary measures for opening the Museum, and to restore the excavations to a presentable condition. At our request Mrs. Semni Karousou was sent by the Ministry of Education to supervise the opening of the sealed cases in the Museum, and the antiquities were then restored to their respective show cases. With the exception of the Byzantine Museum in Athens, the Corinth Museum was the first of the important collections of antiquities in Greece to open its doors to the public.

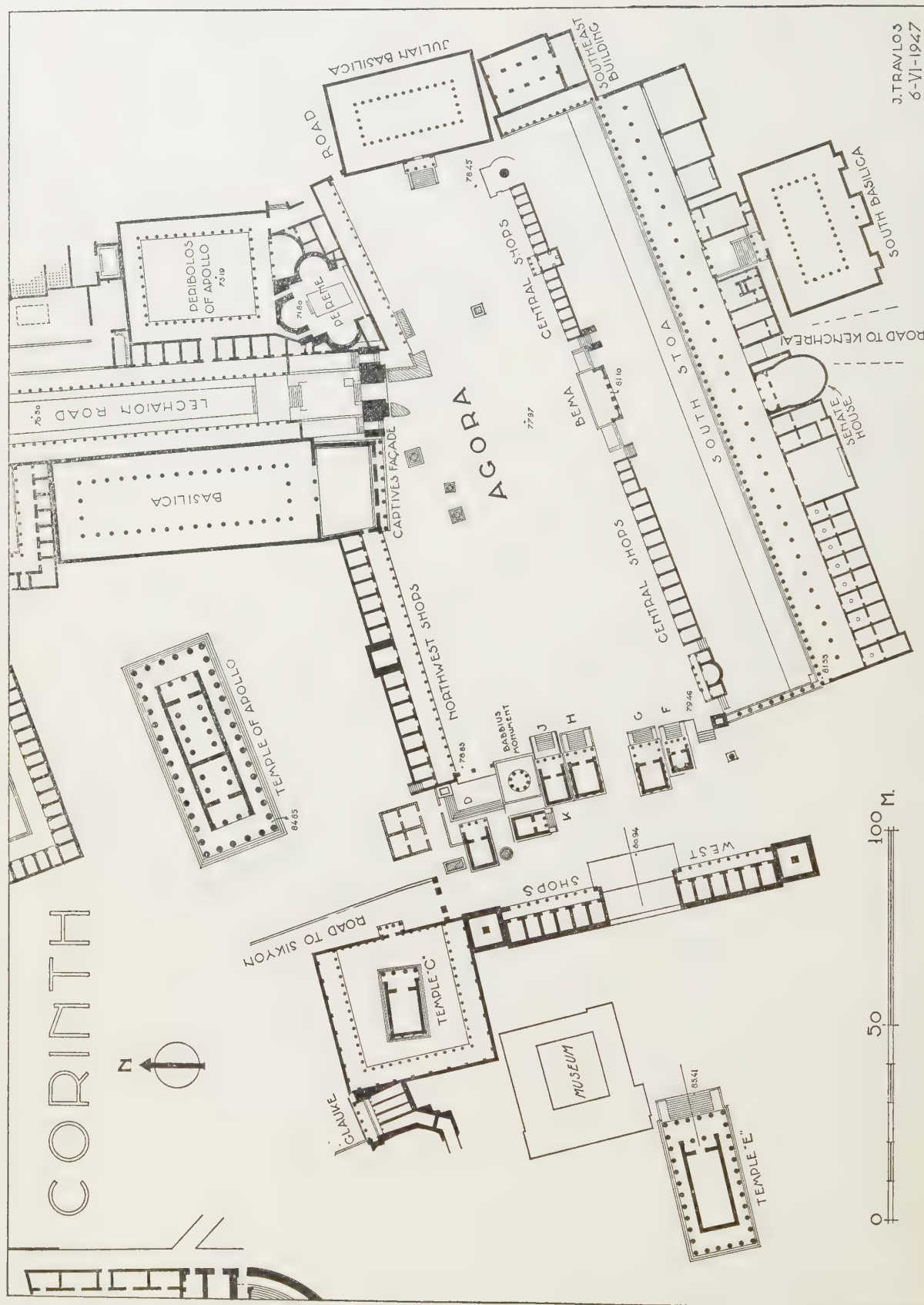


Fig. 1. Corinth in the Second Century After Christ

J. TRAVLOS  
6-VI-1947



In the meantime the work on the various monuments under investigation was progressing.<sup>1</sup> Most of the areas are centered in and about the ancient Agora. The restored plan, made by John Travlos (Fig. 1), includes all the areas in which work was done except two to be discussed at the end of this article.

### THE WEST TEMPLE TERRACE

A series of Roman foundations built on a raised terrace at the west end of the Agora had been investigated by Robert Scranton, and two of the temples were published by him in 1944 in this journal. The further study of these monuments was continued in the course of this year. On the basis of Pausanias' description and of other data an identification of the six small temples has now been proposed and a restoration of the buildings has been made. The identification, which by the nature of the evidence is necessarily conjectural to a certain degree, is as follows, in order from south to north: *F*, Temple of Tyche-Aphrodite; *G*, Pantheon; *H* and *J*, Temples of Herakles and Poseidon; *K*, with entrance from the south, Temple of Apollo; and *D*, at the north end of the terrace, Temple of Hermes. East of Temple *K* is the prominent foundation which carried the circular monument of Gn. Babbius Philinus, the well-known benefactor from the early decades of the Roman colony.

<sup>1</sup> The Corinth Staff consisted of the following members. Robert Scranton was in charge of investigations of the West Temple Terrace, the Central Shops and Bema Complex, and the monuments in the lower Agora, and during the month of March he supervised the investigations on the Church lot. Saul Weinberg re-excavated and studied the Southeast Building and prepared for publication the material discovered in 1940 on the site of the projected addition to the Museum. Carl Roebuck was in charge of the work in the Asklepieion, and Mary Campbell Roebuck made a study of the terracotta roof-tiles discovered since the publication of *Corinth* IV, i, in 1929. The author of this article, besides being in general charge of the operations, devoted his time to the investigation of the South Stoa. The architects were: Leicester B. Holland, who made the drawings of the South Stoa; John Travlos, who spent several weeks in Corinth during the fall and winter making some of the drawings of the Roman buildings in the Agora and preparing the plan which appears in Figure 1; and Elias Scroubelos, who worked with Mr. Travlos on the buildings in the lower Agora, the Southeast Building, and the Asklepieion. Mrs. Robert Scranton assisted in replacing the objects in the Museum and, as secretary and stenographer, made it possible for the other members of the Staff to devote their time exclusively to their investigations. Roger Edwards spent several weeks in Corinth doing the inventories of finds from this year and of some other objects found prior to the outbreak of the war. The coins, a total of over 1,000, were identified and catalogued by Mrs. Broneer.

Most of the photographs were taken by Demetrios Harisiades, who made several trips to Corinth during the spring of 1947. Between his visits the photographic work was in charge of Saul Weinberg, and other members of the Staff have contributed photographs of their particular subjects. The Foreman in charge was Evangelos Lekkas, who has served the School in this capacity since 1928. George Kachros, the faithful guard of the Museum, assisted by the second guard, Evangelos Pappasomas, devoted his spare time to the mending of the pottery and cleaning of the coins and small finds, and for a time Andreas Mavragannes was in Corinth restoring the section of the roof shown in Plate LXIII, 26.

So much material of this monument has been preserved that a complete restoration (Pl. LIV, 1) was possible with a minimum of conjecture.

### CENTRAL SHOPS AND BEMA COMPLEX

A study of the pre-Roman remains of the Agora has revealed sections of a cobble pavement sloping down toward the north and with a gentle rise toward the east and west. Earlier pavements can also be traced at lower levels, but the cobble pavement represents the latest pre-Roman level of the market place. The reconstruction of the city by the Romans did away with the sloping character of the ground. Artificial terraces were constructed and the Agora was laid out in two horizontal levels, separated by a series of low buildings. The southern half of the Agora, which served as the *Forum Civile*, was made *ca.* 2.50 m. higher than the larger, northern section. In the earliest Roman period the demarcation between the two levels consisted of a terrace wall constructed largely out of reused material. At the east end of this terrace was erected a circular monument, the lowest drum of which still remains in its original position. This structure, discovered in 1892 before the American excavations began, is one of the most prominent landmarks in the ancient Agora.<sup>2</sup> At a somewhat later period the Bema, referred to as *rostra* in an inscription from the early second century A.D.,<sup>3</sup> was constructed near the center of the Agora in front of the terrace wall. The building was flanked by a waiting room on either side. These rooms, to which the term *scholae* has been applied, were entered from the north at the level of the lower Agora. They were unroofed, and on two sides were marble benches to accommodate the petitioners who, like the Apostle Paul, came to present their cases before high officials. The marble benches and other architectural members have been assembled and as far as possible restored to their original positions (Pl. LIV, 2). To the east and west of the *scholae* were stairways leading to the higher area on the south, and a row of small shops continued the line of the rostra complex. At the very western extremity was a building with three rooms, an apsidal one in the center flanked by a smaller rectangular room on either side and fronted by columns. This building has been identified as a cult house of Dionysos.

<sup>2</sup> Fragments of a second drum were discovered in a modern gatepost, and a third drum is reported to have existed as late as last century, R. B. Richardson, *A.J.A.*, I, 1897, p. 469; O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 154. Cf. note by W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 314 f. The data relating to this monument and its restoration will be presented more fully by R. L. Scranton, but it might be pointed out here that the existing fragments of the second drum, found in the gateposts of the Bakkouli property, show no trace of the projecting cornice which appears on Ittar's drawing. The dimensions of the lower drum agree well with those indicated on the drawing, but certain other features of the drawing cannot readily be reconciled with the existing remains.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 182. On the discovery and identification of the Bema see O. Broneer, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937 A, pp. 125-128. An annual festival is now held in Corinth on the day of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 29, and at that time a divine service, conducted by the Bishop of Corinth, assisted by other bishops and priests, is held on the ancient Bema in commemoration of the Apostle Paul's defence before Gallio.

## THE SOUTHEAST BUILDING

At the east end of the Agora a building, known as the Southeast Building, was discovered in one of the earlier excavations. Here a considerable amount of excavation had to be done because the ruins had been reburied by mud and débris washed down from the modern road. It has been possible to distinguish three periods of construction. The earliest building, entirely of poros, goes back to the early years of the Roman colony. A thorough reconstruction was made sometime before the middle of the first century A.D., probably at the expense of Gn. Babbius Philinus. The frieze above the colonnade on the east façade bears a dedicatory inscription in which the portico is specifically mentioned. From the titles of the donor—his name is lost—the connection of Babbius with this structure has been plausibly conjectured.<sup>4</sup>

A remodeling of the interior, made some half century later, was probably paid for by the son of Babbius. A mosaic floor with geometric patterns belongs to this period, as do several fragments of an inscription on thin marble slabs (Pl. LIV, 3), found within the building and in the immediate vicinity. Some of the larger pieces came from the fill beneath the floor of the latest period which dates from the end of the fourth century A.D. The inscription is too fragmentary to restore in its entirety,<sup>5</sup> but some important conclusions can be reached. The first line may be restored as [Gn. B]abbiu[s] Gn. F. Aem. [At]ta[us]. Only the cognomen is uncertain. Since the name of Gn. Babbius Philinus, which appears with his official titles on several inscriptions from Corinth, is never followed by the names of his father and tribe, it has been assumed that he was a freedman. The Babbius of the new inscription was a Roman citizen of the tribe Aemilia, which was the tribe of the Roman colony of Corinth, and it seems highly probable that he is the son—or possibly grandson—of the benefactor from the early part of the century. The fragment in the lower corner preserves part of a word which can best be restored as SCR]IPTA. We may assume that this has to do with the designation of the building, which on this slender evidence has been tentatively called the *Tabularium*.

In the course of clearing the Roman structure several well shafts were excavated, some of which contained quantities of pottery. The best group came from a well whose contents date from the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. Most of the vases are of Corinthian manufacture including several groups of small skyphoi (Pl. LV, 4), each group consisting of vases practically identical in size and decoration. One lot of small skyphoi without figured decoration has been blackened and blistered by intense heat. Apparently the pottery came from a shop or potter's establishment which

<sup>4</sup> Allen B. West, *Corinth VIII*, ii, *Latin Inscriptions*, no. 122.

<sup>5</sup> The fragments as arranged in Plate LIV, 3, are not all in their correct position. The two small fragments at the extreme right and left in the lower group, which would have come farther from the center, have been placed where they are in order to be included in the photograph.



was destroyed by fire. Mixed with the Corinthian pottery are considerable quantities of Attic vases, three of which are shown in Plate LV, 5. The black-figured kylix fragment at the top has figures of two wrestlers with spectators or judges on either side. Below is a small cup without handles and devoid of exterior decoration; in the inside center is a whorl pattern. The splendid omphalos phiale to the right of the picture is decorated with a leaf design in red and white and incised outlines. Another well shaft which could not be fully cleared because of the high water level contained pottery, lamps, and other objects from the late Hellenistic period. Several coins came from the fill, most important of which is a coin of Gaius Publilius, quaestor in the Roman province of Macedonia, 148-146 B.C. Apparently the shaft was filled up with débris that had accumulated during the hundred years that the city lay in ruins.

### THE SOUTH STOA

The most extensive work was carried on in the South Stoa, the large commercial building which lined the southern edge of the Agora. The Stoa was excavated in the campaigns of 1933-1939, but in many places the débris covering the Greek remains was left for later investigation. Both in the Stoa proper and in the shops and store-rooms, which occupy the southern half, remains of earlier buildings lie buried under the Stoa floor. In the course of this year the two ends of the building were completely cleared and detailed drawings made. In these sections was found a considerable amount of pottery, terracotta figurines, and coins belonging to the pre-Stoa period. The most important piece of pottery, found under the floor of the shop XXX, was a painted terracotta altar which has been published as a separate article.<sup>6</sup> A deposit of terracottas and pottery from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. was discovered at the east end of the Stoa and was partly excavated this season. Among the terracottas a figure of Aphrodite riding on a swan and a pregnant woman seated in a chair deserve special mention.

At the two ends of the Stoa the architectural members which lay scattered in disorder have been arranged and replaced on the existing foundations (Pl. LVI, 6). This has added much to the interest and intelligibility of the ruins. In the course of the investigations important data were obtained to determine the condition of the Agora during the hundred years of desolation between Mummius and Caesar. Two wagon roads traversing the Agora diagonally have left well-marked wheel ruts on the foundations of monuments which were in ruins when the roads were in use. The Roman buildings, on the other hand, were constructed above the levels of these roads. The wheel marks of one of the roads are visible in the lower right corner of the photograph, Plate LVI, 7, where the ruts cross the terrace wall in front of the Stoa. Prior to the destruction by Mummius this wall, which runs the entire length of the building, supported well over a hundred statues and dedications of various kinds.

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 214-223.

Only the cuttings for their pedestals now remain; the monuments themselves had already been removed before the road came into existence. The foundation for the portico of the Southeast Building, seen on the lower left of Plate LVI, 7, is preserved at a level considerably higher than that of the road. This shows clearly that the portico is later than the road, which must have been in use during the period between the removal of the statues on the terrace wall and the construction of the Southeast Building in the early years of the colony. During the hundred years that the city lay in ruins the road was probably used for hauling building material from demolished buildings to other centers in the Corinthia.

The most significant part of the excavation consisted of the complete clearing of several of the shop wells, the upper sections of which had been excavated in earlier campaigns. It had then been impossible to reach the bottom because the channel which supplied the wells with water and was connected with the Peirene system could not be emptied during the excavation season. Last winter, however, the water in this part of the Peirene system was let out and the water level was lowered to such an extent that the bottom of the wells could be reached, though with considerable difficulty. There are thirty-one wells in all, one in each but two of the front shops. Nineteen of these had been previously excavated down to the water level, and one, in shop XV, was opened this year. Of those previously dug seventeen have now been excavated to the very bottom. They proved to contain quantities of architectural fragments and roof-tiles from the Stoa as well as lamps, pottery, and miscellaneous finds. The objects from the lowest levels, most of which had found their way into the water while the wells were still in use, help to determine the kind of business carried on in the shops prior to the destruction in 146 B.C.

It is obvious that this elaborate series of wells, connected with an underground channel at a depth of nearly 12 meters, was not designed primarily to furnish the shopkeepers with water. The well curbs which had been broken up and thrown into the wells show none of the customary rope marks made by drawing water. The wells were unquestionably intended chiefly as coolers and as such furnish the best example of ancient refrigeration preserved in Greece. I had formerly assumed that the shops were chiefly victuallers' establishments,<sup>7</sup> and that the perishable foodstuffs had been kept fresh in the wells. Though some of the shops may have been so used, it is now clear from the objects found at the lower levels that many were taverns and that the wells were used for keeping the wine chilled.<sup>8</sup> Some of the wells, particularly XV, contained quantities of broken wine jars, many of them with stamped handles. Most of the stamps are Knidian or Rhodian<sup>9</sup> (Pl. LVII, 8), but there are examples from

<sup>7</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 556; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937 A, p. 131.

<sup>8</sup> The comic poet Strattis, a contemporary of Aristophanes, alludes to the practice of cooling wine in wells: *οἶνον . . . ψυχόμενον ἐν τῷ φρέατι* (Meineke, *Com. Frag.* 2, p. 361).

<sup>9</sup> No detailed study of the stamps from the wells has yet been made. The four stamps shown in Plate LVII, 8, appear to be as follows: upper left: *Ἐπὶ Ξενοκλεῦς | Θεοδοσίου | Κνίδιον*, *Anchor*;

other parts of Greece and even from more distant centers. The amphora top shown in Plate LVII, 9, carries the stamp C.CAR. in Latin letters on both handles. Further study of these stamps will furnish data on the commercial relations of Corinth with the rest of the Mediterranean world during the late third and first half of the second centuries B.C. The jars were closed with a lid and sealed with clay or wax. Several of the lids have small holes either through the knob in the center or on the side, but many are not perforated (Pl. LVIII, 10). Probably the perforated lids were used for jars containing new wine still in a state of fermentation. For the mixing of the wine before serving large bowls were used, an example of which is shown in Plate LVIII, 11. This belongs to a late phase of *Westabhang* ware with floral decorations applied in opaque colors over the black glaze. Several varieties of pitchers were in use in the shops, the most characteristic type being the *lagynos* (Pl. LVIII, 12) with tall neck and long handle and with a double convex body. This type of vessel, which seems to have originated in Egypt, is mentioned in literature as the companion in drunken revelries.<sup>10</sup>

The drinking cups from the wells are numerous and belong to a wide variety of shapes. Most typical is the kantharos and a deep two-handled cup with angular profile and small foot (Pl. LIX, 13, 14). Most varieties, though not all, have a flat attachment above the handle, sometimes shaped like a leaf. The lower part is usually plain, but several examples have vertical ribs or grooves. The upper zone carries the chief decoration in a variety of designs, either painted in opaque colors or incised, and sometimes a combination of the two types of decoration occurs.<sup>11</sup> Frequently the design is applied only on one side of the vase, the other side being reserved for an inscription incised through the glaze. The inscription consists for the most part of a single word, usually the name of a deity or some abstract idea, always in the genitive case. The following inscriptions appear on vases found in the wells: ΔΙΟC CΩΤΗΡΟC (Pl. LIX, 14, right) (twice), ΔΙΟΝΥCΟΥ (Pl. LIX, 15, left) (twice), ΕΡΩΤΟC, ΑΛΥ[ΠΙΑC], Η[ΔΟΝ]ΗC, ΗΔΥ[ΠΟΤΙΑC], ΠΙ[CΤΕΟC], ΥΓΙΕΙΑC (Pl. LIX, 15, right), ΑCΦΑΛΕΙΑC, ΠΑΥCΙΚΡΗΤΑ[ΛΟΥ] (?), ΠΙΟΝΕ . . . ΥC. Smaller drinking cups, with or without handle (Pl. LX, 16), some with raised decorations, and a wide variety of Megarian bowls (Pl. LX, 17), were found in the same context. Related

lower left: [Ἐπὶ] Θεωδω[ρίδα] | Κλεπόλιω[ς] | Κνίδι(ον), *Double Ax*; upper right: [Μηνοθέμιος], *Cornucopia* on the left, *Double Ax* at bottom; lower right: Ἐπὶ Ἀλεξιμά[χου] Ὑακινθίου. The last two are Rhodian. These readings were made from a photograph by Virginia Grace, who dates them in the second quarter of the second century B.C., i. e., shortly before the destruction of the city.

<sup>10</sup> See G. Leroux, *Lagynos*, especially pp. 73-82, and the description of the Alexandrian festival *Lagynophoria* in Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae*, p. 276. A *lagynos* of a peculiar type was found in 1934 at the east end of the South Stoa. See *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 71, fig. 16.

<sup>11</sup> A deposit containing many drinking cups and other pottery of the same kind as those found in the wells was discovered in 1934 in shop I beneath the stairway leading to the second storey of the Stoa. See Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 71-72, and figs. 14 and 15.



in fabric to these drinking vessels are several types of late Hellenistic lamps, a few of which are shown in Plate LX, 18.<sup>12</sup> Many of the lamps were found intact and all show signs of use. The shops having been lighted chiefly from the Stoa through the open door, artificial lighting would have been needed not only at night but even on dark days. Since so many of the lamps have found their way into the wells unbroken we may assume that they fell into the water by accident, having been placed on the well curb or on the wooden contrivance for lowering the wine and victuals into the wells.

Taverns would also require games and music for the entertainment of their customers, and evidence of both has been discovered. Table tops of red and white marble were found in many wells. The table illustrated in Plate LXI, 19, shows signs of long use, and stuck to its top was found a silver coin (seen in the lower left corner) of the Achaean League.<sup>13</sup> Knuckle bones, all smooth and blackened from frequent use, were found in large numbers, one well containing no less than 58. In Plate LXI, 20, are shown three varieties. The bones in the upper row, which have been flattened by sawing off a thin slice on either side, were probably used as markers. The three pieces in the bottom row, which are perforated through the center, may possibly have been markers, too, or perhaps the holes had been filled with some kind of substance to weight the pieces. In the middle row are arranged six astragals showing all six possible throws. In the game called *κότσια*, still played with bones of this kind by the inhabitants of Old Corinth, these throws are called, in order from left to right: King, Vizier, Baker, Thief, Single, and Dual. The last two would not turn up very frequently if the game was played on a smooth surface; for the purpose of photographing them in this position it was necessary to support them with plasticine. Many of the wells produced pieces of flutes either of bone or ivory, the best preserved of which are shown in Plate LXI, 21. The four pieces come from different wells and obviously belong to more than one instrument.<sup>14</sup>

Each season's work seems to produce some group of objects for which no convincing explanation can be found. In Plate LXII, 22, is arranged a selection of terracotta tubes, all found in well XV, which produced no less than 176 of these curiosities. They are very roughly shaped of coarse clay. One end has a profile like the base of a small vessel, but the bottom is so uneven that many of them could not stand up without support. From the base they taper toward the top where they

<sup>12</sup> The lamps shown in Plate LX, 18, belong to types VIII, IX, X, XI, XIII, XVII and XVIII. All appear to be of pre-Roman date.

<sup>13</sup> Mantinea, renamed Antigoneia, after 222 B.C. See S. W. Grose, *McClean Collection*, II, nos. 6479-6482.

<sup>14</sup> In general the sections resemble those found at Meroë in Egypt, recently published by Nicholas B. Bodley in *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 217-239. Two sections of a single instrument came from a well in Corinth together with pottery from the end of the fifth century B.C. See Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 73, fig. 18.

terminate in a thin, fragile lip, preserved only in a few examples. The hole has a diameter of *ca.* 0.01 m. at the top and narrows toward the bottom. The depth is *ca.* 0.035 m., approximately half the total height of the object. It has been suggested that these were used as bottle stoppers, but the vases found in the same well were mostly large amphorae requiring a flat circular lid of the kind described above (Pl. LVIII, 10); nor would such use require a hollow tube. A more likely explanation is suggested by the presence in the same well of numerous lumps of color, mostly red, which at a certain depth had dissolved and colored the mud red. One might conjecture that the terracotta tubes were used as color containers in some artist's studio or beauty parlor. The hole is very small, however, in proportion to the size of the object; the thin lip is not conveniently shaped to receive a stopper; and the uneven base and the coarseness and careless workmanship seem out of keeping with such a purpose.

Apart from the objects which can be more or less directly associated with the use of the shops as taverns and lunch rooms, the wells yielded a wide variety of other articles which help to establish the chronology and use of the Stoa in its various periods of construction. In well IV was found a terracotta mould for a draped female figure (Pl. LXII, 23), wearing a one-piece garment held together with a large circular clasp above each shoulder. The only important piece of sculpture from the wells is a small marble head of a woman, in front view (Pl. LXIII, 24). It came from the lower fill of well XX in the same context as a coin of Sikyon, 323-251 B.C., and some Megarian bowl fragments. The back of the head has a flat break, indicating that it was once part of a relief. The features of the face are well modeled in good fourth-century style, but the ears and rear part of the hair are only sketchily rendered.

A small bronze plaque<sup>15</sup> with traces of silver plating was found in well XX at a slightly lower level than the marble head. After being cleaned it proved to contain a figure of Hermes engraved in outline (Pl. LXIII, 25). The god is seated on a rock, leaning backward, with his right elbow resting on a rock and in his left hand he holds the kerykeion. He wears the petasos, and his chlamys is fastened round his neck and spread over the rock on which he is sitting. In the upper right corner is a curved line with dots, apparently from some floral design. In the upper left corner is a hole for suspension, and a corresponding hole must be assumed in the opposite corner. The delicate little figure is obviously designed to fit the space of the bronze, the original edges of which seem to be preserved except the right edge. Here an irregular break indicates that a portion on the right is missing. It probably contained the figure of a votary approaching from the front, and holding in his hand a branch which is partly preserved.

The architectural fragments and especially the terracotta roof-tiles found in the wells are of particular interest. In previous campaigns several sections of the raking

<sup>15</sup> The fragment measures only 0.032 x 0.037 m. For the type of seated Hermes see below, Plate LXV, 31.

and horizontal simas and other decorative members of the roof had come to light. These were kept under lock and key in the shed constructed to protect the mosaic floor, which covers the area originally occupied by shops and storerooms VI and VII. During the war years members of the occupying forces broke into this shed and removed one lion-head spout and some antefixes. We were fortunate in discovering this year two almost complete sections of the horizontal sima with the lion-head spouts in good condition. These made it possible to assemble the material from the roof and to reconstruct a section as shown in Plate LXIII, 26. The raking sima is decorated with painted designs of alternating palmettes and lotus buds above a maeander pattern. The horizontal sima has double spirals in relief which stand out in the color of the clay against a black ground. At the bottom is a maeander pattern similar to that on the raking sima. The lion heads are carefully modeled, and a realistic touch is added by the application of color suggesting the natural colors of the beast. Thus the mane is a light tan, eyes and nostrils black, the tongue and lips red. Above the joints of the sima are antefixes with the leaves of the palmette and spirals in relief in the color of the clay against a dark background. The ridge palmettes, like the raking cornice, have only painted designs. Along the ridge between the palmettes is a special ridge cover tile, several sections of which were found complete. In the rear of the Stoa there was no sima, but the eaves tiles have a decorated overhang, and the cover tiles terminate in straight antefixes carrying the same design as those fitting over the sima on the façade.

The width of the roof-tiles and of the sections of sima do not fit the dimensions of the Doric order, a restoration of which is shown on Plate LXIV, 27. With four tile widths to each interaxial distance the width of each section of sima should be 0.583 m., whereas the preserved sections all measure almost exactly 0.62 m. The discrepancy seems to have been taken into consideration by the architect who arranged them so that a lion-head spout would come directly over every fifth column, while in alternate divisions of four intercolumniations an antefix would come over every fifth column. The remaining lion-heads and antefixes would be off center. This arrangement is reflected in a feature at the ground level. There is a stuccoed gutter running along the façade of the Stoa with a square clearing basin in front of every fifth column beginning with the second column from either end of the building.

### TRIAL TRENCH IN THE CHURCH LOT

Two areas were investigated outside the limits of the ancient Agora. The modern Church of the Virgin, severely damaged during the earthquakes of 1928 and 1930, is to be taken down and rebuilt. Since it is located only about 75 meters from the southeast corner of the Agora and the church lot might thus contain important archaeological remains, the Archaeological Service of the Ministry of Education requested that we investigate the ground. A trench 3 meters wide and nearly 30 meters



long was dug diagonally across the front lot of the Church to a depth of *ca.* 4 meters. Four main periods of occupation could be observed in this trench. No buildings of pre-Roman times were found, but there are traces of a Greek road, and a manhole leading to a channel at a depth of 10 meters below the present ground level contained considerable quantities of pottery, mostly from the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

The early Roman period is represented by a heavy wall which appeared in the west half of the trench. It is constructed of poros blocks and meets another wall at right angles, but the nature of the structure could not be determined without further clearing of the area. To the same general period, though perhaps a few years later, belongs a rather poorly constructed building divided into rooms opening toward the east. These are probably shops, but only one room and a corner of the second were excavated at the very east end of the trench. This building had been destroyed by fire. In the eastern half of the trench were found the remains of a large building with marble flooring in a poor state of preservation. It seems to date from late Roman or early Christian times. At a much higher level, only about one meter below the present ground level, appeared a complex of Byzantine walls of massive construction and more careful workmanship than is customarily the case in walls of this period. It is a significant feature of all these building periods that the orientation remained unchanged from earliest Roman times to the period represented by the modern church.

This trial trench produced a few objects of note. A gold coin of John II Comnenus, 1118-1143, came from the Byzantine deposit. In the fill of the Roman "shops" was found a marble statuette of Aphrodite (Pl. LXIV, 28) with head and arms missing but otherwise in an excellent state of preservation. She is nude to the waist and the drapery covering the lower half of the body is represented as being held in place by its own weight resting on the raised left leg. Her left foot rests on a goose, rather carelessly carved. On her left side stands a flat pillar, on the top of which are traces of the shield which the goddess held in her hands.

The statuette, which is a somewhat simplified copy of the Capua type of Aphrodite, is the first example of the type found at Corinth. Its discovery is of special significance because of the theory promulgated by Adolf Furtwängler<sup>16</sup> that the prototype of the series was the cult statue of the goddess in the temple on Acrocorinth. Though differing in certain details from the Capua copy, particularly in the footrest, the statuette is clearly a copy of the same original from which the statue in Naples derived its form. On Corinthian coins and on lamps of the second century A.D. Aphrodite is pictured holding a shield in her hands, and one coin of Lucius Verus shows her standing in this familiar pose within her temple on the citadel.<sup>17</sup> These

<sup>16</sup> *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 384 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pl. G, CXXVI. For a discussion of the cult statue on Acrocorinth and its relation to the Aphrodite of Capua see my article in *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, vol. I, no. 2, pp. 65-84.

miniature representations with two exceptions differ in important respects from the marble copies. The lamps and all but two of the coins show the goddess holding the shield in her hands without the columnar support, and her face is turned toward the spectator's left. On most of the coins there is a small figure of Eros—in one instance two Erotes—looking up at the goddess, and on two of the lamps dolphins take the place of the Erotes. The drapery, too, appears to be quite different, but in such details the coins are not to be trusted. The marble copies, of which there are many, differ among themselves in certain details, but agree in showing her turned toward the spectator's right, and in most instances the shield is supported on a pillar or, in one case, on the head of an Eros.

We are thus dealing with two distinct types of Aphrodite figures, or at least with two different variations that may ultimately go back to a common prototype. The first, represented by the marble copies and by two coins, has the column supporting the shield and the goddess is turned to the spectator's right, whereas the other type, known from numerous coin types and lamps from Corinth, shows the goddess turned toward the spectator's left and holding the shield without the support of the column. Of the two coins of Corinth, reproducing the first of these types of Aphrodite, the earlier is a coin of Domitian,<sup>18</sup> on the reverse of which is the figure of Aphrodite to right holding the shield on a pillar. There seems to be a miniature figure of Eros on the left. The other example is a coin of Hadrian,<sup>19</sup> on which the goddess, turned to right with shield on pillar, is standing within her temple on Acrocorinth. The building is tetrastyle, very similar to that on a coin of Lucius Verus,<sup>20</sup> in which she is facing left and holding the shield in her hands without columnar support.

The coins indicate that both types of statue stood in the temple on the citadel, but there seems to be a chronological difference. Of the two coins on which she is turned right and holds the shield on a column the latest is one of Hadrian. The other series, of which there are numerous examples, begins with Hadrian and extends to the reign of Caracalla.<sup>21</sup> Unless we assume that the two statues existed in the temple simultaneously, which is unlikely in view of the fact that both were apparently cult images, we must conclude that the earlier of the two was replaced sometime during the reign of Hadrian. The type with the pillar was probably of marble and all the existing marble copies are of this type. The later type, in which she holds the shield at arm's length without support from below, must have been of bronze, since the marble arms could hardly have supported the weight of the shield.

<sup>18</sup> Katharine M. Edwards, *Corinth VI, Coins*, no. 101, and cf. Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 70 and pl. 8, f.

<sup>19</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. FF, XVI.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. G, CXXVI.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27.

The shop in which the statuette was discovered contained quantities of tiles, iron slag, and ash. Among this débris were found the fragments of two terracotta figures, one of which represents young Dionysos seated on a circular base and holding a bunch of grapes in his right hand (Pl. LXV, 29); the other is a standing figure of a bearded deity, probably Zeus or Hades (Pl. LXV, 30). These figurines, rather crudely modeled of a coarse, brick-red clay, quite unlike the clay of Corinth, are unquestionably of Egyptian origin. The features of the Dionysos figure are strongly reminiscent of the boy Harpocrates.

The manhole to the Greek drain contained some late red-figured pottery, the best preserved of which is a large skyphos. On one side (Pl. LXV, 31) is a figure of Hermes seated on a rock over which his cloak is spread. He wears no clothing except his petasos, and the wings on his feet are not indicated. In his left hand he holds some object resembling a fillet. He is looking back at a youth engaged in some action with both his hands. The second figure has a chlamys thrown loosely over his left shoulder, but is otherwise nude. The Hermes figure is of particular interest because his pose is almost identical with that of the same deity on the bronze plaque described above<sup>22</sup> (Pl. LXIII, 25). The chief difference is in the turning of the head. On the vase he looks back at the worshipper behind him, while on the bronze plaque he looks forward toward a votary (now missing) standing in front. Both figures doubtless derive from some well-known painting or relief. The other side of the skyphos (Pl. LXVI, 32), which is less well preserved, is decorated with a winged nude figure, perhaps Thanatos, mounted on a horse.

### THE ASKLEPIEION

The investigations in the Asklepieion and Lerna area have brought to light several important details which will help to complete the picture of the ancient health resort. Trial pits dug to the north of Lerna have revealed the lower courses of the north city wall with its interior core of sun-baked brick. The way in which the fortification and the fountain structure are tied together shows clearly that they belong to the same period. Apparently when the Sanctuary and fountain were rebuilt and expanded in the fourth century B.C. the plan included construction of the north city wall which here served also as a retaining wall supporting the deep fill on the north side of the Lerna court.

<sup>22</sup> This was first pointed out to me by Roger Edwards. A Herakles figure in a somewhat similar pose, kindly called to my attention by Phyllis W. Lehmann, occurs on a bronze relief in the Barberini Collection, Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, pl. LIX. See Phyllis W. Lehmann, *Statues on Coins*, pp. 40-52, where a series of seated Herakles figures is discussed. With them compare the Hermes in the Hermitage, of which there is a copy in the Acropolis Museum, M. Bieber, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVII, 1912, pp. 174 ff. They seem to me to belong to a different type. The variations of the god seated on a rock are too numerous to be derived from a single prototype.



The destruction of the city by Mummius in 146 B.C. has left unmistakable traces in the ruins of the fountain. A much-used wagon road at one time cut diagonally across the court and the propylon. This can only have taken place while the buildings were in ruins, and the coins and pottery found in the accumulation of earth above the road agree with such a date. Like the Corinthian Agora with its public buildings, the Fountain of Lerna and the Sanctuary of Asklepios became convenient quarries from which building material was collected and hauled to other towns in the Corinthia. The dedications from the Asklepieion which had been packed away during the war years have again been replaced in the Asklepieion room of the Museum (Pl. LXVI, 33) where they form one of the most striking exhibits from ancient Corinth.

OSCAR BRONEER

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

## BACCHIC EROTES AT TARENTUM

(PLATE LXVII)

GREEK artists and craftsmen in the course of a thousand years of ancient history passed through many phases of taste and expressed themselves in innumerable techniques. They also originated a large part of the world's iconography, even a larger percentage than is usually credited to them. It is always illuminating to discover the Greeks using a technique or symbol or exhibiting a taste not attributed to them previously. A group of vases with pastel colors and relief decoration, excavated at Tarentum, a South Italic city founded by Greek colonists, is a case in point. On vases belonging to this group there appears for the first time, executed by Greek hands, a scene which was copied by the Romans and by the successors of the Romans down to our own time: the baby Erotes engaged in the acts of men, specifically in bacchic revels.

The vases are tall and thin, with covers and with high bases (Plate LXVII, 1, 2). Usually they have two handles each. Friezes of figures in relief and curly leaves moulded separately and attached at critical points are the important decorative elements. Tongue patterns and necklaces supplement the decoration, all of which is confined to the fronts of the vases, showing that the intention was to place them against walls or in niches. The three or four horizontal ridges on each vase continue across the back.

The fabric is soft, light brown clay. White, pink, and gold occur on all the vases and some of them have additional colors. Every vase has been repaired. Since the colors are easy to imitate with water color on plaster, and since, except for the gold, they are inclined to run, it is extremely difficult to recognize the repaired and restored portions of the vases and to decide to which areas the various colors were originally applied.

Five vases of this ware are in American museums, three in the Metropolitan Museum and two in the Walters Art Gallery. These five use three subjects; there are two pairs and one single vase for which we may imagine a mate. Three vases depicting two of the same subjects have been previously published, with unsatisfactory illustrations. It is possible that they are additional pieces and are still in European collections, but equally possible that they are three of the five now in America. In the latter case, the United States may claim a monopoly on the extant specimens of this extraordinary ware.

Our Plate LXVII, 1 is in the Walters Art Gallery. It was formerly in the Massarenti Collection in Rome, and was listed in the catalogue of that collection as

having been found at Tarentum.<sup>1</sup> The body rests in a high, turned base at the top of which are three large acanthus leaves with projecting tips. There are two handles, with acanthus leaves at each point of attachment. The leaves are well shaped and veined. The body with its relief decoration was made in a mould. Just above the base is a band of tongues, about the middle are five little Erotes, and still higher up is a band of what might be classed as tongues, though they are rounded at both ends. A relief of pendants hanging from rosettes, in exact imitation of a Greek necklace, ornaments the front of the neck. The cover slopes up toward the center where there rises a group of three acanthus leaves and a stiff stalk which sprouts into leaves at the top.

Body and cover were coated with white slip; much of it is still preserved. The necklace is gilded, and so are the horizontal bands, below and above the frieze of Erotes and at the shoulder. The main frieze has pink spread over the figures as well as the background. There is a pink line on the cover and a gilt line, too; there is also pink paint from some design no longer recognizable. The vase has been extensively repaired; one handle has been reattached and there are cracks across the body, one crack cutting through the Erotes. Restorations which have been made over these damaged areas in pastel colors have been most skillful, and it is difficult to distinguish between the restored areas and the real surface.

The five Erotes on the front carry the following objects (beginning at our right): a pair of flutes; a torch and a pointed amphora; a torch and a pail; a cithar; and a long object, probably a thyrsos. The full significance of this procession of baby gods with these implements will become plain when we have considered some other vases.

The Walters Art Gallery has been fortunate in receiving a vase of this ware as a gift from Mr. James W. Barney (Plate LXVII, 2).<sup>2</sup> It has been broken and repaired, but has not been extensively restored. Parts of the cover and of the projecting acanthus leaves are missing. With the vase came a tag stating that it had been excavated at Tarentum. Gilt is well preserved on three bands which encircle the body, on the necklace, on the lip, on several of the objects in the hands of the participants and on their wings and draperies; also, on the upper part of the base. Pink is preserved over large areas, most noticeably in the tongues and on the background for the Erotes. The leaves are roughly shaped and lack details, which may have been rendered in paint.

A duplicate vase is in the Metropolitan Museum, having been acquired by purchase in 1896.<sup>3</sup> It shows few signs of repair; on the other hand, the color is not well preserved. These two vases have identical covers, bases and handles. They are so

<sup>1</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.117. Ht. with cover, 23 inches (.585 m.). E. Van Esbrouck and others, *Catalogue du Musée au Palais Accoramboni*, pt. II, Rome, 1897, pp. 55 f., no. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.1942. Ht. with cover, 19<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> inches (.493 m.).

<sup>3</sup> Metropolitan Museum, no. G.R. 1017.



nearly alike that they must have been made in the same moulds, and possibly they were intended as mates. In the Tyskiewicz sale catalogue a similar vase was illustrated.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to ascertain whether this is a third example, or one of the two now in America. I feel fairly certain that it is not the one in the Metropolitan, but it might be the one in Baltimore.

On these two (or three) vases, each of the baby figures wears a piece of light drapery, passing across his back, surrounding his arms, and fluttering to the sides. The figure farthest to the spectator's right skips toward the center, carrying two small vases, one high on his left shoulder, one in his right hand held at knee level. The second runs toward the center, pouring from a pitcher held in his right hand into a saucer in his left hand. At the center of the scene is Eros poised on his left toe, holding a goat on his shoulder. Continuing toward our left, we meet an Eros trotting toward the center of the picture, with a single vase in both his outstretched hands. At the end comes the fifth Eros; above his head he swings a bow with his right hand. It is difficult to identify the object in his other hand, but it may be a torch.

Many of the attributes carried by the Erotes in the two scenes (on three or more vases) are vessels for serving and drinking wine. Clearly, as the Erotes so frequently imitate men at their duties and pleasures, they are engaged in a bacchic revel. The goat, the thyrsos if it is a thyrsos, the torches and the cithar prove that it is a revel, not a mere symposium. The bow may mean that one Eros is taking advantage of the woodland locale for hunting purposes. (Considering the rest of the scene, it probably is not for shooting the arrows of love).

To complete our record of this peculiar ware, we must mention some vases of the same technique but with different subjects. Two covered vases with pastel colors were excavated from a tomb at Tarentum and published by Lenormant in the *Gazette archéologique* for 1881-2.<sup>5</sup> The bodies stood on separately made bases without being attached to them. There were no protruding acanthus leaves and no handles. Six figures, instead of being made with the body, were moulded separately and then attached. Due to this method of manufacture, a raised area was apparent around each figure. Two different arrangements of the figures were followed. The figures were: Athena with a palm branch; Nike holding a shield; a seated man and a standing woman, each playing a cithar; and two baby Erotes. The tongues were bounded by incised lines, not by relief lines as on the vases with the many Erotes. It was recorded that these vases had gold leaf and rich polychromy including blue on the necks.

The reproductions from photographs taken in 1881 leave much to be desired. It is impossible to decide whether or not a pair of vases which was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1896 is the same.<sup>6</sup> Each corresponds to one of the others

<sup>4</sup> Froehner, Sale Catalogue, Tyskiewicz Collection, 1898, pl. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Lenormant, in *Gazette archéologique*, VII, 1881-2, pp. 179 f., pl. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Metropolitan Museum, nos. G.R. 1016, G.R. 1018.

in its arrangement of figures. The tongue patterns are rendered in the same way. Shapes of bases and handles are alike, and distinctly different from the other vases. The colors, as described by Miss Christine Alexander, are pink, reddish brown, blue, yellow, and gilt which is applied over yellow in some areas, in others over pink. Miss Alexander adds that it is impossible to ascertain the complete color scheme and that it probably was not the same on both vases. This color count is not at variance with that given in *Gazette archéologique*. The most noticeable differences are the handles on the Metropolitan vases, and the tufts of leaves on the stalks on the covers; the appendages are not present in the old illustrations. Since the handles and leaves are attached with glue, it is quite possible that the Metropolitan Museum acquired the original pair of vases, to which parts had been attached after the first photographs were taken.

As far as the subject is concerned, it is of little consequence whether one or two pairs of vases has been preserved. There are six figures arranged in two orders, and the scene is impossible of interpretation no matter which order is chosen. Clearly, the maker of the vase cared little about telling a story, and combined his figures at random. Yet we may hazard a guess as to the nearest pictorial representation to his: the judgment of Paris,<sup>7</sup> with Paris represented as playing a musical instrument when the three goddesses came to consult him.<sup>8</sup> Athena certainly belongs in the judgment scene and the Erotes are appropriate in any scene in which the susceptible Paris participates. Aphrodite should be there, and the semi-nude female with the cithar may be a substitute for her. Instead of Hera, the artist has introduced Nike, who is sometimes present in a subsidiary role at the judgment. I think it possible that the stamps used on these relief vases were intended for a representation of the judgment of Paris, and that the craftsman chose Paris, the Erotes, and any three female figures to fill the spaces on the vases. It would be impossible to prove this theory, however, and the scene cannot be said to have been explained.

Certainly this scene, whether or not it is the judgment of Paris, had many prototypes, but the scenes with the Erotes in action point forward in time.

The Greek Eros did not begin life as a chubby baby. In early Greek times he was a dignified youth. His transformation into a baby occurred during the Hellenistic period, and so did the multiplication of Eros into many Erotes. It was a baby, called Cupid, that the Romans loved and worshipped; but already among the terracotta statuettes of the Hellenistic Age winged baby gods were common. Many times the baby is associated with Aphrodite, and therefore preserves his original function of love-god. The scene which I have hypothesized to be the judgment of Paris includes

<sup>7</sup> See the vase in the manner of Meidias in Karlsruhe, Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 30.

<sup>8</sup> On the subject in general see Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, s. v. "Paris."

two little love-gods. In other cases, the identical figure or a group of such figures is engaged in acts which have no erotic significance. It may be incorrect even to refer to them as Erotes, but no better name suggests itself.<sup>9</sup>

A few examples are sufficient to show the development of this subject. Early in the Hellenistic period, in the late fourth or early third century B.C., we should place a vase (recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum) where, in polychrome relief against a background of black, two boy Erotes are giving a flying lesson to a baby Eros, in the presence of Aphrodite and Pan.<sup>10</sup> On "Megarian" bowls of the late third century we meet pairs of winged babies, where Eros playing the double flutes alternates with Eros brandishing two pairs of what look like flutes but may be intended for clappers.<sup>11</sup> Baby Erotes are to be found on Hellenistic Pergamene ware, usually singly.<sup>12</sup> It is from early Roman days that we have the famous scenes of several Erotes participating in the tasks and pleasures of men, frequently those tasks and pleasures which are connected with the vine: the harvest of the grapes, or the vintage, or the bacchic orgy which attends the consumption of the wine, or the music which must accompany the orgy. Most familiar are the scenes on a silver cup from Boscoreale, where Erotes ride wild beasts,<sup>13</sup> and the vintage and bacchic scenes in the latest Pompeian style of wall painting, in the House of the Vettii.<sup>14</sup> Less famous but equally charming is an octagonal marble urn of the Augustan Age, having a vine pattern and seven Erotes dancing and playing musical instruments, and carrying torches and a lantern.<sup>15</sup> An old controversy about the date of a large class of metal pans and jugs with bacchic Erotes has been settled, in my opinion, in favor of the Augustan Age.<sup>16</sup> Single Eros figures occur, but rarely, on terra sigillata ware of the early empire.<sup>17</sup> In later Roman times, scenes with Erotes are common on sarcophagi and their covers.<sup>18</sup>

Now where in this history shall we place the vases from Tarentum with the complete scenes of five Erotes with bacchic and musical implements? It would be difficult to assign a date to them later than the third century B.C. For, in the second

<sup>9</sup> Birt, *Aus dem Leben der Antike*, 1922, p. 149, calls them children of the nymphs.

<sup>10</sup> *Bul. Met. Mus.*, n. s. III, 1944-5, pp. 170 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.130. Cf. Baur, in *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 235, fig. 4 (Perhaps Delian, end of 3rd century).

<sup>12</sup> Courby, *Les vases grecques à reliefs* (*Bib. des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 125), 1922, pp. 458, 462 f.

<sup>13</sup> Heron de Villefosse, *Mon. Piot*, V, 1899, pls. V, VI.

<sup>14</sup> Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures*, p. 85, no. 5; p. 88, no. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs*, III, p. 185, no. 3; Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike*, 1926, p. 173, fig. 243.

<sup>16</sup> A. Radnoti, *Die römischen Bronzegefässe von Pannonien* (*Dissertationes Pannonicae*, II, 6), 1938, pp. 16-18.

<sup>17</sup> H. F. De Cou, *Antiquities from Boscoreale in Field Museum of Natural History* (Field Museum, publication 152. Anthropological Series. Vol. VII, no. 4), 1912, pp. 203 ff., pls. CVI f.

<sup>18</sup> Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, p. 447, fig. 495. Two examples in the Walters Art Gallery, Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, 1942, figs. 9, 27.



Punic War at the end of this century, Rome overcame Tarentum and paraded its captured wealth in a costly triumph. Tarentum was a poor town ever after. It is improbable that the Tarentines after their conquest possessed expensive items, and the polychrome vases must certainly have been expensive, though not the equal of the gorgeous native metalware. Lenormant, in discussing one pair of the vases, unhesitatingly dated them about the middle of the third century, and he seems to have known something of the circumstances of excavation, since he remarked that the most valuable objects were early removed from the tomb. The excavational evidence, then, seems to point toward a third-century date.

Decorative patterns and technique tend to date these vases early in the Hellenistic period. Polychromy is characteristic not only of the terracotta statuettes of this age, but of many pottery wares. The gilt necklaces are usual on black-glazed vases which begin in Greece in the fourth century B.C. and continue for a short time there; and more elaborate painting is characteristic of the Italian vases, called "Gnathia" ware, which are slightly later in date.<sup>19</sup> Pastel colors were frequently added to Kertch vases, which were a developed Attic ware, essentially red-figured. A little-known but very interesting vase found at Olbia is black glazed as to its body, but the shoulders, neck, handles, and covers are polychrome.<sup>20</sup> Plastic heads on the handles, floral patterns in relief on the shoulder, and leaves partly in relief and partly in the round attached beside the handles, are its main decorations. The black glaze connects it with early wares, the color and character of the decoration link it with our vases from Tarentum. We mentioned before the polychrome Erotes on a black-glazed vase. There is also a hydria from Cumae with two polychrome reliefs and a black-glazed background.<sup>21</sup> A very famous vase, perhaps as early as the second half of the fourth century B.C., is a hydria with the Calydonian boar-hunt represented in pastel-colored relief against a gilded background, without any black glaze.<sup>22</sup> We might mention, too, the silvered vases which come from Orvieto and its neighbor, Bolsena, in Etruria.<sup>23</sup> They show a preference for bizarre shapes and large reliefs, and must have been made after 265 B.C. An isolated vase, not easy to date but certainly no later than the mid-Hellenistic period, is a covered amphora, white slipped, with heads in relief and a painted necklace, found at Tanagra in Greece.<sup>24</sup> Canosa in South Italy produced polychrome vases with little

<sup>19</sup> *B.C.H.*, 35, 1911, pp. 22 ff. Notice especially pl. V, a krater of black glaze, ornamented in polychrome with Erotes guiding a griffon chariot.

<sup>20</sup> K. Trever, "Eine polychrome Amphora aus Olbia," *Materialy po arkheologii Rossii*, no. 36, 1918.

<sup>21</sup> *Compte rendu*, 1862, pl. 3; Stephani, *Vasensammlung der Ermitage*, no. 525; S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints*, I, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> *Mon. Piot*, X, 1903, pp. 39 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, p. 53, figs. 165 ff.; Zahn, *Berliner Museen*, LV, 1935, p. 7, right; Ducati, *Storia dell'Arte Etrusca*, pp. 457 f., 513, 561; Pagenstecher, *Calenische Reliefkeramik (Jh. Arch. I., Ergänzt. VIII)*, p. 20; Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, pp. 73 f., 501.

<sup>24</sup> Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium II. Vasen*, 1932, p. 174, no. F 2883, p. 94.

or much relief. Some Canosa vases even have statuettes applied as decorations.<sup>25</sup> Finally, there is a class of polychrome vases from Centuripe, Sicily. These have decoration on one side only. They have been dated later than most of the polychrome wares, that is, in the second or even in the first century B.C.<sup>26</sup> There are a few later polychrome wares, inferior and easily recognizable from the Hellenistic.

The foregoing examples are sufficient to show that Polychrome relief wares were characteristic of the Hellenistic Age. We can date our vases in the third century B.C. The confirmation of this date from the history of Tarentum is satisfactory. Because of the indestructibility of pottery, and its consequent good preservation, we may say that this date is fairly well established. In comparison, the dating of metal and silver objects with Erotes may be considered uncertain, because of the scarcity of metal objects.

The establishment of these vases in the third century B.C. is important. I have been unable to locate a single other example of Erotes in complete scenes copied from the lives of men at so early a date. The earliest examples given above were Augustan. That there were Hellenistic prototypes for the Augustan works of art as well as for Roman literature has never been doubted, but until now no artistic prototype and few real literary references could be shown.<sup>27</sup> However, one was at hand, though it could not be interpreted. In the "Tarentine Treasure" discovered in 1896 and dated as a whole before 272 B.C., the time of the war with Pyrrhus, on the evidence of coins was a silver kantharos of elongated and elaborate form and very unusual decoration. Among the decorations are a garland surrounding the body and, under each handle, a chubby baby. One baby carries a pointed amphora, the other a torch and a kantharos. Wuilleumier interpreted these figures as genii, one of wine and the other of water.<sup>28</sup> Excitedly he remarked that the chubby baby type, here occurring at Tarentum in the third century and on an object of Tarentine manufacture, was usually associated with Asia Minor in the second (referring, I suppose, to Pergamene ware and to statuettes). This opinion he later repeated, but in the second instance he called the figures Erotes and adduced as parallels a set of busts of baby Erotes on a gold amphora found at Tarentum and some Tarentine terracottas of winged babies.<sup>29</sup> Picard proposed a Dionysiac interpretation for the figures on the silver vase, accepted the date before 272, but denied the local origin.<sup>30</sup> Courby dated it in the second half of the third

<sup>25</sup> *Not. Scav.*, 1899, pp. 300-302; *Röm. Mit.*, 29, 1914, pp. 116 ff., pls. VIII-X; *Not. Scav.*, 1898, p. 216; Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, p. 95; other works on polychrome vases generally are Pottier, *Mon. Piot*, XX, 1913, pp. 163 ff.; Picard, *R.A.*, ser. IV, vol. XXII, 1913, pp. 161 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Richter, *Bul. Met. Mus.*, 26, 1931, p. 123 and *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, II, 1929-1930, pp. 187-205; Libertini, *Centuripe*, 1926, *passim*; Pace, *Ausonia*, VIII, 1913, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Birt, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>28</sup> Wuilleumier, *Le Trésor de Tarente*, 1930, pp. 42-46; *Not. Scav.*, 1896, pp. 380 f., figs. 5-6.

<sup>29</sup> Wuilleumier, *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine* (*Bib. des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 148), 1939, pp. 352 f. Cf. the statuettes since found at Tarentum, *Not. Scav.*, 1936, p. 137, fig. 27, p. 182, fig. 93.

<sup>30</sup> Picard, *R.A.*, ser. V, vol. 33, 1931, p. 357; *R.A.*, ser. VI, vol. XXV, 1946, pp. 181 f.

century B.C., suggesting an Alexandrian origin, and Mayer felt that it must have originated after the Pyrrhic War, and suggested that it may have been buried at the commencement of the Punic War.<sup>81</sup>

Perhaps Wuilleumier would have been even more excited had he known of vases from Tarentum with baby figures fitted with wings, carrying full bacchic equipment and therefore apparently participating in the Dionysiac cult which was popular at Tarentum. These pottery vases help us to identify the figures on the silver kantharos as Erotes in a thiasos, detached from their proper environment and denied their wings. Other isolated Erotes with musical or bacchic implements, occurring in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods may henceforth be interpreted as members detached from complicated scenes, rather than as forerunners of a scene yet to be invented.

At the present time it would be foolish to hazard opinions about the cult implications of the scenes, or even to try to decide whether or not the figures should, strictly speaking, be called Erotes. The correct name would have to be learned from literary sources. A little investigation discloses that our knowledge of Erotes in Hellenistic literature is almost as scanty as the artistic remains, and that this literature is in large part a reconstruction from Roman sources. References to multiple loves in Theocritus and Bion and Moschus conjure up nebulous figures, and Catullus is of no real help. Lucian and Philostratus are our chief sources of information about Erotes in Hellenistic literature, and they are very indirect sources indeed. The enthusiasm with which critics have seized upon a little fragment of Archytas of Tarentum, and compared it with a scene on a Roman sarcophagus on which children serve at a drinking bout, is an indication of the terrific paucity of real knowledge.<sup>82</sup>

It would be equally foolish, at the moment, to come to any conclusion about the relationship of Tarentum to Alexandria and to Asia Minor. Three pottery vessels and one silver one are insufficient to establish originality of ideas. It is highly probable that our pottery was made at Tarentum, since five examples of the ware have been found there and none elsewhere. Yet we have no right to assume that the subject was unknown at Alexandria or elsewhere.

What is established is the presence of groups of baby gods, engaged in acts definitely bacchic and definitely not erotic, at Tarentum in the third century B.C. The three Tarentine vases with their two subjects, divided between the Metropolitan Museum and the Walters Art Gallery, are sufficient to prove the antiquity of the iconography. The close correspondence of these Tarentine objects to the Roman is reassuring, since it shows that we have not been altogether wrong in our reconstruction of Hellenistic scenes from Roman.

DOROTHY KENT HILL

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

<sup>81</sup> M. Mayer, *Not. Scav.*, 1898, p. 215; Mayer, *Coppa Tarantina* (Commissione provinciale di archeologia e storia patria, *Documenti e Monografie*, vol. IX), Bari, 1910, p. 28; Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 508; Courby, *Rev. Univ. Lyon*, 1933, p. 200.

<sup>82</sup> Birt, *op. cit.*, p. 143 and pl. 8.



## THERMIKA AND PANAITOLIKA

IN THE inscription published in *Ath. Mitt.*, LXV, 1940, pp. 47-48, line 7, the phrase *Θερμικὰ στάδιον, ὀπλίταν* obviously refers to an athletic festival.<sup>1</sup> In other instances, however, it has been assumed that "Thermika" designated one of the regular meetings of the Aetolian League. It may, therefore, be permitted to reexamine several problems connected with the meetings of the Aetolian League.

Polybius, who often calls the meetings of the Aetolian League *σύνοδος*, once speaks of a *σύνοδος τῶν Θερμικῶν* (XVIII, 48, 5), but the precise meaning of this passage is not clear. Livy, who used Polybius as a source, uses the term *Panaetolicum concilium* with reference to League meetings. The words *Θερμικά* and *Πανατωλικά* occur also in inscriptions, but one cannot easily deduce from the context whether or not sessions of the League are meant. The question may, therefore, be asked whether the "Thermika" and "Panaitolika" were the splendid annual festivals and conventions of the Aetolians mentioned by Polybius (V, 8, 5), or whether they were the names of the regular meetings of the Aetolian League. It may also be the fact, moreover, that while the "Thermika" were festivals celebrated in honor of Apollo of Thermos, the "Panaitolika" designated League meetings.<sup>2</sup> All these possibilities have been considered by other students of the problem, and especially by Maurice Holleaux, who suggested that "Thermika" and "Panaitolika" were the official designations of the two regular annual meetings of the Aetolian League. This interpretation has found general acceptance, although it is now assumed that the two terms also applied to the official festivals of the League.<sup>3</sup>

The Greek word *Πανατωλικά* is built like other neuter compounds containing *παν-* as first part, and it should, therefore, mean the assembly of the neighbors of a sanctuary.<sup>4</sup> The meaning of *Θερμικά* can be deduced from two passages of an inscription of the third century B.C. (*F.D.*, III, 3, no. 214, lines 38 and 40). The fact

<sup>1</sup> Compare J. and Louis Robert, *R.E.G.*, LIV, 1941, pp. 19-20, no. 56.

<sup>2</sup> For the earlier bibliography, see Holleaux, *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, pp. 362 ff. Compare also Sokoloff, *Klio*, VII, 1907, pp. 71 ff.; Holleaux, *Klio*, VII, 1907, pp. 294 ff.; Swoboda, *Klio*, XI, 1911, pp. 456 ff.; *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, no. 563, note 2, and no. 598 D, note 11; Roussel, *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 21 ff. (= *F.D.*, III, 3, no. 214); Wilhelm, *Sitzungsb. Ak. Wien*, 1922, II, VII, pp. 5 ff.; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, pp. 1521 ff.; *I.G.*, IX<sup>2</sup>, 1, nos. 187 and 192; Rhomaïos, *Ἐπετ. Φιλοσ. Σχολ. Πανεπιστημ. Θεσσαλονίκης*, 1932, pp. 24 ff.; Kahrstedt, *R.E.*, s.v. *Συνέδριον*, col. 1339-43; Flacelière, *Les Aetoliens à Delphes*, pp. 42 ff.; Aymard, *Les assemblées de la Conf. Achaïenne*, p. 59, note 4; Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See, in addition to the bibliography quoted in note 2, Schwahn, *R.E.*, s.v. *Sympoliteia*, col. 1207.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Pollux, VI, 163; E. Schwyzler, *Griech. Grammatik*, I, p. 80; H. M. Hoenigswald, *Language*, XVI, 1940, pp. 187-188.

that the "Thermika" are here mentioned side by side with the "Laphrieia" indicates that they, too, were a festival.<sup>5</sup>

Based on his interpretation of the "Thermika" and "Panaitolika," Holleaux assumed (see note 2) that the Aetolian League had only two regular annual assemblies, although he admitted that according to Polybius (IV, 15, 8) at least three meetings took place in one particular year. He did not consider, however, that Polybius' expression τῆς καθηκούσης ἐκκλησίας referred to a "regular" meeting.<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to assume, according to Holleaux, that a regular session should have taken place during the summer, thus but a short time in advance of the regular fall meeting of the League. Yet it is known that the Achaean League had a regular meeting during the summer. In fact, the Achaean League had four regular meetings every year,<sup>7</sup> and the Aetolian League may have done likewise. Finally, it seems unlikely that the meetings of the Aetolian League had each a special name, and it may be preferable to assume that the "Panaitolika" designated a convention in which all the Aetolians took part.<sup>8</sup> The word Θερμικά may not have been used for meetings at all, since for this purpose words like σύνοδος, ἐκκλησία, σύγκλητος were more appropriate and were actually used both by the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues.

The theory that the Aetolian League had two and only two regular annual sessions is based on a passage in Livy (XXXI, 32, 3-4) in which the historian speaks of the *Panaetolicum* and *Pylaicum concilium*. Holleaux accordingly assumed that these Latin terms correspond to the Greek words Παναιτωλικά and Θερμικά. He follows in this respect Nissen,<sup>9</sup> who deduced from a comparison of Livy, XXXIII, 35, 8, and Polybius, XVIII, 48, 5, that the Roman historian, in using the term *Pylaicum concilium*, confused the Greek terms Θερμικῶν σύνοδος and Θερμοπύλαι. The fallacy of this argument is made apparent by the context which concerns only the Aetolians but not the Greeks in general. It is evident that Livy made a mistake when he translated Polybius' Θερμικά as if it meant Θερμοπύλαι. One may, therefore, wonder whether Livy did not make similar mistakes in two other passages (XXXI, 29, 1; XXXV, 32, 7) in which he calls the assembly of the Aetolian League *Panaetolicum concilium*.<sup>10</sup> Holleaux assumed that Polybius' now lost text which was the source

<sup>5</sup> The "Panaitolika" are not mentioned in this document because they were probably established at a later date, as has been suggested by both Roussel and Flacelière (see note 2).

<sup>6</sup> Holleaux follows in this respect Klatt, *Chron. Beitr. zur Gesch. des achäischen Bundes*, p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> See Aymard, *op. cit.* (see note 2), pp. 275 f.

<sup>8</sup> Gilbert already observed (*Handbuch der Griech. Staatsalt.*, II, p. 30, note 2) that the meetings of the Aetolian League did not have special names.

<sup>9</sup> *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius*, pp. 29 and 127.

<sup>10</sup> In translating Polybius, XVIII, 48, 5, Livy not only read Θερμικά as if it meant Θερμοπύλαι, but he also added on his own the misleading information that a large assembly of the Greeks took place in this locality, and that this meeting was called *Pylaicum concilium*. Livy may have used this term even when he found in the Greek original expressions like κοινὴ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν σύνοδος or καθήκουσα ἐκκλησία.

for Livy's passage (XXXI, 32, 3) contained the Greek phrase ἐν τῇ τῶν Παναητωλικῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν Θερμικῶν συνόδῳ which the Roman historian translated in *Panaetolico et Pylaico concilio*. Yet Polybius never uses these expressions in the preserved part of his work; see, for instance, Polybius, IV, 5, 9; 15, 8; 26, 6. Nor does he ever mention the "Panaetolica," although references to meetings of the Aetolian League abound. Livy, on the other hand, refers in two other passages to meetings of the Aetolian League by calling them *Panaetolicum concilium* (XXXI, 29, 1; XXXV, 32, 7). It has been noted above that Livy misunderstood the Greek term Θερμικά, and it may now be suggested that he made another mistake when he translated Παναητωλικῶν σύνοδος (which is the League festival) with *Panaetolicum concilium* meaning a meeting of the League.<sup>11</sup> To sum up, it may be suggested that Livy found the terms Θερμικά and Παναητωλικά in a now lost portion of Polybius, misunderstood them, assuming that Θερμικά referred to Thermopylae while Παναητωλικά designated meetings of the Aetolian League. Since matters pertaining to the Aetolian League were also discussed in these passages, Livy felt free to use the Latin equivalents *Pylaicum* and *Panaetolicum concilium* in several other passages in which Polybius described meetings of the League without using the terms Θερμικά and Παναητωλικά; see especially Livy, XXXI, 29, 1; XXXV, 32, 7. On the other hand, Polybius employs the expressions σύνοδος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, καθήκουσα ἐκκλησία, and κοινὴ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν σύνοδος in order to designate the regular meetings of the Aetolian League, without ever using Θερμικά or Παναητωλικά in this meaning. These terms seem to have occurred only in that portion of Polybius' work which is preserved to us in Livy's translation.

Holleaux assumed that the fall meeting of the Aetolian League was called "Thermika" while the spring session had the name "Panaitolika." In this case, any other regular meetings of the League should also have had special and different names. We know from Polybius (IV, 15, 8) that in 220<sup>12</sup> B.C. a meeting took place during the summer, only a short time before the regular fall session. In spite of Polybius' clear statement, Holleaux declared that this meeting was extraordinary, and if he was right, it should also be assumed that the Achaean League's summer meeting of that year was not regular; for Polybius uses the same words in describing both events (IV, 7, 1; 14, 1). A close examination of Polybius' discussion of the events of this summer will reveal, however, that the summer meeting of the Aetolian League was a regular convention and that in this year at least three regular meetings took place.

According to Polybius, IV, 5, 9, Skopas and his friends did not wait for the

<sup>11</sup> Polybius frequently uses σύνοδος for conventions other than political meetings; see, for instance, II, 39, 6; IV, 21, 3; X, 42, 4; XVIII, 9, 2. In XVIII, 9, 2 and 10, 3 σύνοδος and σύλλογος are used in the same meaning. Yet, whenever Polybius speaks of League meetings he adds the specific words Ἀχαιῶν or Αἰτωλῶν.

<sup>12</sup> See Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, IV, 1<sup>2</sup>, p. 720; *I.G.*, IX<sup>2</sup>, 1, preface, p. xxv, lines 1 f.; Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 1541/2; Aymard, *op. cit.*, pp. 252 f.



regular meeting of the Aetolian League which had the power to decide about war and peace, but they took advantage of the inability of the League's general Ariston and invaded the Peloponnesus. They did not even inform the ἀπόκλητοι of their plans. Their expedition was successful, for not only did they defeat repeatedly the armies of the Achaean League, but they returned home with an enormous booty.<sup>13</sup> A meeting of the Aetolian League then took place, preceded by a session of the Achaean League which convened at the end of July (Polybius, IV, 14, 1). The Aetolians made peace with the Lacedaemonians, the Messenians, and their other allies, but war was declared against the Achaeans (Polybius, IV, 15, 8). This meeting made decisions concerning war and peace and must have had the same authority as did that meeting for which Skopas did not care to wait. It was, therefore, a regular session and the date may have been postponed on account of the military expedition.

There is, moreover, some evidence available to show that the Aetolians were very reluctant to call any extraordinary meetings. When, at a later period ambassadors from Philip V called upon the Aetolians, pointing out "that there was still time left to call a meeting and to arrive at more sensible decisions," and when the King himself went to Rhion, which was suggested as meeting place, the Aetolians contented themselves with informing him through a messenger that "they were unable to enter upon any commitments prior to the meeting of the League"; see Polybius, VI, 26, 6 f. And, indeed, no extraordinary session was called and all had to wait until the next regular meeting.

Additional information to support the view that the Aetolians had more than two regular annual meetings is provided by another passage in Polybius which shows that not only the fall meeting but also the spring session took place in Thermos and that any meetings outside of Thermos must have been in addition to these two.

According to Polybius (XXVIII, 4, 1), a convention of the Aetolian League took place at Thermos in the spring of 169 B.C. This meeting is generally considered as a regular session, but it has not been explained why a spring meeting should have taken place at Thermos. On the other hand, the account of Polybius makes it clear that the meeting took place in the spring. Yet the spring meeting should not have convened at Thermos if there were only two annual meetings, one of which was always held during the fall in Thermos while the other assembled during the spring in one of the cities of the League which took turns being the host.

It may now be suggested that the Aetolian League met at least three times in regular sessions. In fact, there may have been a fourth meeting during the winter, between September and April. On one occasion (Polybius, XXVIII, 4, 1; Livy,

<sup>13</sup> Their return was probably caused by the approach of a regular meeting of the League which they could not hold in the Peloponnesus because the general responsible for convening a meeting had stayed in Aetolia. On another occasion, Polybius mentions (II, 2, 8) a meeting on foreign soil, but at that time the general was with the army.

XXXI, 29, 1 and 8), the Aetolians met in the spring just after a meeting of the Achaean League, which was held either at the end of April or at the beginning of May; see Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 1557. Another regular meeting took place not before August. This date is based on the known date of the third Achaean assembly (Polyb., IV, 14, 1 and 14, 9; Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 1557) and on two passages of Polybius (IV, 14, 9; 15, 8) which refer to events at the very beginning of the 140th Olympiad. The third meeting, finally, convened after the fall solstice; see Polybius, II, 2, 8; 3, 1; IV, 27, 1; 37, 2; 67, 1; Strabo (Ephorus), p. 463. This fall meeting witnessed the election of the League officers, and it probably marked the beginning of the elaborate festivals which the Aetolians celebrated at this time of the year.

It has been stated above that both the spring and fall meetings took place at Thermos. Little is known of any meetings which convened in other cities. The sessions in Naupaktos (Polybius, V, 103, 2; XVI, 27, 4; Livy, XXXV, 12, 3), Herakleia (Livy, XXXIII, 3, 7), Lamia (Livy, XXXV, 43, 7; 49, 9), Hypata (Livy, XXXVI, 26, 1; 28, 9; Polybius, XX, 10, 14) may not have been regular meetings; at any rate, they took place in the course of military expeditions. Yet we know that even electoral conventions could meet on foreign soil provided the entire League army under the command of the general happened to be on an expedition; compare Flacelière, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 f.

The preceding account should make it clear that the Aetolian League had more than two regular sessions, and that none of them was called "Thermika" or "Panaitolika." These terms referred, however, to League festivals as indicated by Polybius (V, 8, 5), by some inscriptions, and by the names themselves. The excavations at Thermos have revealed the history of the cult of Apollo Thermios from the second millennium to the end of the second century B.C.<sup>14</sup> The "Thermika" were one of the oldest festivals; they were originally local in character but became later the official festival of the Aetolian League. Thermos seems to have been the cult center of the Aetolians (at least of the cities around *Τριχωνίς*); see Flacelière, *op. cit.*, p. 41. The Aetolian tribes formed in early times a kind of *ἀμφικτυονία* which later received a political significance. The exact date of this change is unknown, but it cannot be deduced from the recently found Athenian inscription (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 5 ff.).

The "Panaitolika" presuppose the existence of the Aetolian League; see Flacelière, *op. cit.*, p. 43. They were celebrated in the spring, at the end of February or at the beginning of March, as has been deduced by Pomtow from *I.G.*, IX<sup>2</sup>, 1, no. 192.<sup>15</sup> It seems likely that the "Panaitolika," as well as the "Thermika," were

<sup>14</sup> See Rhomaïos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, I, 1915, pp. 225 ff.; II, 1916, pp. 179 ff.; *Πρακτικά*, 1931, pp. 61 ff.; 1932, pp. 55 ff.; Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, pp. 43 ff.; Béquignon, *B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, pp. 484 ff.; Weickert, *Typen arch. Arch.*, pp. 7 ff. For the history of the cult, see *I.G.*, IX<sup>2</sup>, 1, nos. 31-36 and 46-48; Rhomaïos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, IX, 1924/5, *Παράρτ.*, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> See Pomtow, *R.E.*, s. v. Delphoi, cols. 2631 and 2690; Holleaux, *loc. cit.*, pp. 370 f.; *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, no. 563; *F.D.*, III, 2, no. 134a.

held at Thermos. This is indicated not only by the excavations but also by a passage of Polybius which describes the devastation of the sanctuary in 218 B.C. (V, 9, 2-3). At that time, Philip V and his allies repaid the Aetolians for their devastations of Dion and Dodona by destroying not only the buildings of Thermos but also not less than two thousand statues. Since divine images were spared, most of these statues must have been dedications of victorious athletes, although some may have been set up by League officers. Since the "Thermika" were not a panhellenic festival, one may assume that also the "Panaitolika" were celebrated in Thermos and that most of the statues were set up by victors in these games. Additional evidence is provided by the custom of the Aetolians to set up copies of every decree both in Delphi and in Thermos. Had there been any "Panaetolian" sanctuary aside from Thermos, copies of the decrees would have been set up there.

Finally may be mentioned the epigraphical evidence, part of which has already been discussed at the beginning of this paper. The names *Θερμικά* and *Παναιτωλικά* occur in several inscriptions. In one instance (*F.D.*, III, 3, no. 214, lines 37 and 40), *Θερμικά* refers undoubtedly to a festival since they are mentioned side by side with the *Λαφρίεια*. For the occurrence of the forms *Θερμικοῖς* and *Παναιτωλικοῖς* in *I.G.*, IX<sup>2</sup>, 1, nos. 187 and 192, reference may be made to the usage of the words *Πυθίοις* in Amphictyonic decrees and of *Βουβαστίοις* at the beginning of a decree from Hyampolis (*Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, no. 843).

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# INSCRIPTIONS FROM ATHENS

(PLATE LXVIII)

IN 1939-1940 the administration of the city of Athens conducted excavations, under the direction of the author, in connection with the embellishment of the area to the south of the Olympieum. During these excavations the following inscribed sherds and stones (Nos. 1-14), along with other important finds,<sup>1</sup> came to light.

## A. FROM THE OLYMPIEUM.

1. A glazed saucer with a horizontal suspension hole on the base. It is made up of four fragments. Diameter 0.10. On the wide band which covers its rim it bears the inscription

Ἀπ[ό]λλωνο[ς]

written in black and dating from the first half of the IVth century.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of the sherd lies in the fact that it was found in the lower strata and near the foundation of a large building; thus it helps to indicate a more accurate location for the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo. Some years ago on an altar near the same place was found the epigram mentioned by Thucydides (VI, 54, 7) dedicated to Apollo ἐν Πυθίῳ from Πεισίπ[ρατος] ἡππίο ἡ νῆος, (I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 761).

2. A small fragment from the base of a black-glazed vase. Height 0.025, width 0.04. On the outer face and on the buff clay we can see the letters ΠV, dating from the middle of the IVth century B.C.

3. Similar to the above fragment. Height 0.04. On the outer surface can be read the letters ΠV---, dating from the same years as inscription No. 2. It seems that in both cases we have the initial letters of the adjective of Apollo.

4. Fragment of a large vase, perhaps a krater, discovered in the foundations of the gate-shaped structure to the northeast of the rocky mount. Its outer surface now is colorless; on its inner face black glaze is still preserved. Height 0.07, width 0.11, thickness 0.011.

The inscription to be found on the outer surface reads:

Plate LXVIII

LT

Λεοδάμας

ὁ Κυζικηνὸς

ἔλθε.

The first two letters at the beginning apparently were carved by the inscriber in his effort to begin his inscription at that point. The ἔλθε of the fourth line recalls similar verbs to be found in S.E.G., IX, 2, nos. 752, 757, 761, 746 (ἴλθε, ἀπῆλθε) and 744, 748, 750 (ἴκω).

The inscription dates from the end of the VIth century B.C. and it is hard to state whether it has any relation to the sanctuary.

In the same area were found the sherds on which inscriptions 5-9 are inscribed, and evidently these inscriptions contained the names of those who had dedicated them to the sanctuary.

5. Round base of a vase (?). Diameter 0.07. On the buff clay the inscription

Plate LXVIII

Λάμνε

can be read painted in black color and dating, as the previous one, from the end of the VIth century B.C.

The name Λάμνη is not to be found on Attic inscriptions, but only that of Λαμία (I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 7441, 11941; cf. also *Athenaeus*, 128 b, 614 F. Hesychios, s.v. Λάμια] and Λαμίδιον (I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 839 56, 59, 71, 11942, 11943, and 5121?). But

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeol. Anz.*, 1940, 167 ff.; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 294; LXIV-LXV, 1940-41, pp. 237 ff.  
<sup>2</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXIV-LXV, 1940-41, p. 238.

we read in Hesychios that a species of fish was called λάμια, and this is also mentioned by Aristotle, *Ἱστορ. Ζῴων*, 540 b, 18 and by Pliny, *Hist. Natur.*, IX, 78. In Oppian, *Ἀλιευτικά*, I, 370, V, 36, we find that the same kind of fish was also called λάμνη. It is therefore possible to assume that as λάμνη was a parallel type of λάμια, so Λάμνη was a parallel type for Λάμια, or even an older type, a thing that is easily adduced from the early date of our inscription and the epoch in which Oppian's work is placed.

6. Base of a black-glazed vase. Height 0.09, diameter 0.08. In the interior it bears a decoration of incised designs in the midst of which can be read the inscription Μῦς, dating from the IV/III century B.C.

7. Round base of a vase. Diameter 0.085. On this can be read the inscription:

Τηλεμάχον.

8. Fragment of a basin made up of two pieces. Height 0.13; width 0.20. On its outer surface we read: Νικαίας (Plate LXVIII).

9. The lower part of a black-glazed vase. Diameter of base 0.055. In the interior we read the inscription:

Ἑλπίδος  
Ἰωνίας.

The last three inscriptions are dated from the II/III century A.D. and are very instructive for the survival of the sanctuary.

10. On other vases, fragments of which have been found, letters had been inscribed which undoubtedly stood for the numbers of the inventory of the sanctuary, such as M.

Plate LXVIII

-----  
----- Ω  
----- χιτώ]νιον  
3 [ἀμόργινον s. ἰσοπτυχές ----- ὄχθοιβος] ὁ[ν ἦ] θεὸς ἔχει  
[ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ ? ----- Εὐ]κολίην  
5 [nomen patris ἀνέθηκεν ? ----] Δημοστράτο θυγάτηρ  
[ἀνέθηκεν -----] χιτῶνα ἀμόργινον  
7 ----- ἱμάτιον γυναικείον  
[----- στεφάνη ἦν ? ἦ θ]εὸς ἔχει  
9 ----- ΥΜ...VΞ  
-----

11. In the same district were also found some funerary inscriptions which, with the exception of two discovered at a later date, were included in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>. The first of these two inscriptions is the right section of a stele and measures 0.15 in height, 0.17 in width, and 0.07 in thickness. The inscription reads:

----- ης  
[Ἑρακλ]εώτης.

and dates from the IV/III century B.C.

12. The second inscription is on a funereal columella of bluish marble. Height 0.29. It reads:

---- νίκη  
---- μωνος  
[Μιλ]ησία.

and dates from the II/I century B.C.

It is worth noting that these two funereal stones, as well as those published in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8071a, 8301a, which were found at the same place, were erected over graves of foreigners from Asia Minor. This should not be considered accidental but should be construed as indicating the existence of a settlement of metics in that part of the city. This indication is further strengthened by the fact that the inscriptions belong to different periods.

In the same area the following two inscriptions were also found.

13. Fragment of a stele of white marble. Height 0.07, width 0.11, thickness 0.04. On this fragment are preserved the right end of nine lines of an inscription dating from the IVth century B.C. (perhaps from the third quarter of that century).

Lines 2/3; [χιτώ]νιον | [ἀμόργινον]. See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1514, lines 51, 63/4, 65; 1516, lines 28, 38, 39, 40; 1517, Col. I, lines 120/1; 1518, lines 65, 66, 69/70, 80/81; 1525, line 9; 1529, line 18 (Artemis Brauronia).

Line 3: [ῥχθουβος] I filled in in accordance with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1424, line 13; 1425, lines 309/10; 1426, line 5; 1428, Col. III, lines 142/3; 1429, line 44; 1456, line 21 (on inscriptions of the tamiae of Athena).

Line 4: [Εὐ]κολίνη. The votive offerings referred to in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1514, lines 9, 15; 1515, lines 3/4; 1529, line 20 (Art. Brauronia); 1534, lines 213, 228 (Asklepios); 1424, line 2, and 1425, line 296 (Athena), seem to have been made by the same person. On the Attic inscriptions we find people with the same name with one of whom she could be identified, as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6569, 7261, 7456, 7614, 7680, 11419-11424, and also on an unpublished inscription from Brauron, on which we read: Εὐκολίνη Ἑρμοδώρον Μαραθωνίου.

Line 5: Δημοστράτο θυγάτηρ. Perhaps she is the daughter of archon Demonstratos, 393/92, mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1425, line 291. On the same inscription we also have the name: Εὐκολίνη.

Line 6: χιτώνα ἀμόργινον. See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1514, lines 10, 22; 1515, lines 4/5, 14; 1523, lines 20/21; 1524B, lines 211, 216; 1528, lines 18/19, 21; 1529, lines 7/8 (Art. Brauronia).

Line 8: [στεφάνη (ς. πλάστρα ᾶ) ἥν ἡ θ]εὸς ἔχει. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1425, line 308; 1456, line 20 (Athena).

It is apparent that our inscription is a list of votive offerings to a Goddess submitted by the retiring tamiae to the new ones. But it is difficult to establish whether the list refers to the Patron Goddess of the city or to the Brauronian, because we have such lists for both deities. [ῥχθουβος] and [ἡ θ]εὸς ἔχει of the third and eighth lines are in favor of the Patron Goddess (if our restorations are correct), while the [χιτώ]νιον, χιτώνα ἀμόργινον, ἱμάτιον γυναικείον are in favor of the Brauronian. On the other hand Eukoline dedicated offerings to both.

14. A square piece of lead; length 0.054, height 0.018, weight 661 grammes. Its short sides are perpendicular, while its rear side is slightly concave. The front side is crowned by a cyma that projects slightly and is decorated by a dolphin in relief somewhat diagonally placed. On either side of the dolphin we read the letters MNA carved in a style in use during the III century B.C. It is certain that the lead article is a measure of weight.

## B. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL MUSEUM.

15. A marble slab with upper and lower ends missing. Height 0.12, width, 0.35, thickness 0.05. On it we read the inscription:

Θέω[ν]  
Θέωνος  
[Π]αιανιεύς

dating from the I century B.C. to the I century A.D.

It was found in a pile of stones in the inner court of the National Museum.

16. To *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 304 + 604.

The two fragments of marble, on which are to be found the inscriptions referred to above and which have been published separately, belong together and have been put together. As a result we now have the initial letters of the name and of the name of the father of the one of the two honored doctors (?) and we also gain one and the same date for both fragments of the inscription. On the second fragment and in line 3, the ethnic could be completed in the accusative and perhaps as Ἀχ[αίων].

17. To *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4472 + 4495.

The two fragments of a column (E.M. 9538 + 9951), on which are found the above two inscriptions, can be put together as indicated on Plate LXVIII. As they have been restored they measure 0.32 in height and 0.39 in diameter. Thus the inscription in its entirety is established and reads:



3 Ἀ[σκ]ληπιῶι κ[αὶ Ὑγείαι]  
 Φιλημ[άτιον καὶ --]  
 τίων [καὶ Μεν--]  
 5 [ἀ]νέθηκαν ἐπ[ὶ] νόμην  
 νος τοῦ Δυσί[--]  
 διὰ βίον [ἱερέως].

Hence the date of both fragments is established as one and the same; it is well known that Kirchner dated the first fragment in the first century B.C. and the second in the I/II century A.D. It also becomes evident even from our photograph that no letters are missing from the beginning of the fifth and sixth lines as was stated by the first publisher of the inscriptions. In the lacuna of the fourth line we must not restore [ἄρχοντος], but only the first part of a name. Also in the lacuna of the fifth line—a space sufficient for 5-6 letters—the first letters of the word *ἱερέως* do not fit, as was suggested by Kirchner. Our inscription will also help to complete inscription No. 4471, inscribed by the same hand on a column similar to ours and on the left end of which is preserved the first three lines in every respect similar to those of our inscription.

18. To *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5659 + 9941.

The pieces of marble (E.M. 11130 + 11326) on which the above inscriptions are cut belong together. As they have now been put together they measure 0.61 in height, and 0.36 in width.

Instead of:

--σι[ο]ς ? | [Δημ]ητρίο[υ] | [Ἀν]αφλύστ[ιος]  
 --ιμος Ἐπ[ισ]τ[ο]λ[ο]γ[ος] | [Μιλ]ήσιος . | . . . ΔΩ--

the inscription in its entirety reads:

a) [Ζώ?]σιμος Ἐπ[ισ]τ[ο]λ[ο]γ[ος]  
 [Μιλ]ήσιος.  
 b) [Ἀρτ]ε[μ]ίδω[ρος]  
 [Δημ]ητρίο[υ]  
 [Ἀναφ]λύστ[ιος].

The inscription of Artemidoros, on whose behalf the column was made, is the older, and two or three centuries later the other inscription was cut.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, II, 4215.

19. To *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12268 + 12376.

The pieces of marble (E.M. 10515 + 11445) on which these two inscriptions were cut were separately published; but they form part of the same round altar and have been put together.

20 (Plate LXVIII). It seems that the inscribed fragments of a column now in the Epigraphical Museum, nos. 1410 + 1772, have not as yet been published. As they have been put together they measure 0.30 in height and 0.43 in diameter. The inscription reads:

--- K A N I N I ---  
 --κον ἀ[π]ολεύθερο[ς]  
 Τρύ[φ]ων

and dates from the I century B.C. to the I century A.D.

21. The upper part of a columella of Pentelic marble. It was found near the Roman marketplace and in the remains of a house that was being torn down at the crossing of Pelopidas and Pan streets. Height 0.275, diameter 0.025. On the upper part it bears a ring below which we read:

[Κ]λείππος  
 Ἀλεξάρχου  
 Ἀχαρνέως.

It dates from the II/I century B.C.

22. With the above was also found a fragment of a stele of white marble. Only the left part is preserved. Height 0.105, width 0.16 thickness .028. On it we read the inscription

--- Ἐπανορθω[τήν] ---  
 ἱπ[πο]κράτους Τ ---

The last preserved tau apparently is the first letter of the consul's name. With such a letter begins the name *ἵππατον ἐπανορθωτοῦ* known to us from an Athenian inscription,<sup>3</sup> which was discovered not far from the place in which our inscription was found. Ours must be associated

with that inscription and accordingly it could be completed about as follows:

[τὸν λαμπρότατον πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντι ?]  
 [στράτηγον τῶν Σεβαστῶν, λογιστὴν καὶ ?]  
 ἐπανορθω[τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων ?]  
 ὑπατον T[ιβ. Κλ. Καλλιππιανὸν Ἰταλικὸν ?]  
 [τὸν ἐυεργέτην - - - - - ?]

Our inscription could be placed at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D.<sup>4</sup>

This inscription is of interest because it illustrates the relations of a high official of the Roman state and of the Athenians of his times who honored him publicly twice, apparently, in return for his benefactions to the city.

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THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

<sup>4</sup> Groag, *Pr. Imp. Rom.*, II<sup>2</sup>, no. 821 and *Roem. Reichsb.*, I, p. 133.

## TWO UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SOUTH TEMPLE AREA OF KARANIS<sup>1</sup>

(PLATE LXIX)

DURING the winter of 1895-96 Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth opened up a new phase of Egyptology by digging in Greco-Roman towns in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> They limited their explorations, primarily a search for papyri, to the Fayûm and succeeded in identifying a number of sites in that region. One of these was Karanis. Here the sebbakhîn had already uncovered the eastern façade of the temple of Pnepheros and Petesouchos (the South Temple) and "the tops of three inscribed doorways."

Hogarth published the inscriptions on these doorways, but with very meagre descriptions.<sup>3</sup> No measurements were taken and no details regarding the type of stone noted. This is particularly unfortunate in the case of a fragmentary inscription, the earliest in date, for the stone has since been lost and no photographs of it were made. Since the Michigan excavations of 1929-30 turned up what I believe to be a portion of the missing section it is pertinent to give in full Hogarth's description to see how well that fits the Michigan stone.<sup>4</sup>

A fallen block, which has formed the lower half of a lintel, found lying on its face just south of the propylon. Very fine and regular lettering.

It is much to be regretted that our diligent search for the upper part of this lintel was unsuccessful; for this inscription, judged by the style of its lettering, is certainly not later than the beginning of the first century A.D., and more probably belongs to the first century B.C. It is the earliest record on the site, and would have given probably a Ptolemaic date for the first construction of a gate to the temple buildings.<sup>5</sup>

A glance at Plate LXIX, 1 shows that the Michigan block formed part of the upper portion of a lintel, for mutilated molding is discernible at the top and at the right end.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Research Committee of the Museum of Archaeology of the University of Michigan for their permission to publish these inscriptions; especial thanks are due to Dr. E. E. Peterson, Curator of Egyptian Antiquities Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, formerly Field Director of the excavations at Karanis, and to Mr. C. H. Roberts, Fellow of St. John's College, and Lecturer in Papyrology in the University of Oxford, formerly a member of the staff at Karanis, for supplying information and checking readings. As a member of the staff I had made transcripts of both inscriptions immediately after they were found during the 1929-30 excavations, but later because of suspected errors wished the readings of the larger one checked against the original. This was done in 1935, several years after I had returned from Egypt. Roberts' readings will be further acknowledged in the treatment of the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, D. G. Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri* (London, 1900), p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

<sup>4</sup> This stone, sandy limestone, measures 16.85 cm. (height)  $\times$  27.75 cm. (thickness)  $\times$  50.1 cm. (width). It was found as a part of the masonry in the protective stone wall for the south wall of house E42A. See A. E. R. Boak, *Karanis, The Temples, Coin Hoards, Botanical and Zoölogical Reports, Seasons 1924-31* (Ann Arbor, 1933), Plan III.

<sup>5</sup> Grenfell, Hunt, Hogarth, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.



"Very fine and regular lettering" may well be applied to this inscription also since its lettering, compared with that on all the others found here, is far superior. There is perfect agreement as to date, for the Michigan block is part of a dedicatory inscription on behalf of Ptolemy Alexander (114-88 B.C.). Therefore, if the text of this fragment can be made to complete the one published by Hogarth, it is a fair conclusion that we now have at least part of the stone for which a "diligent search" was made at the end of the last century.

The text of the Michigan fragment is as follows:

ΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ  
ΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ  
ΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ

The number of letters in each line should be noted;  $13\frac{1}{2}$  for line 1; 12 for line 2, which does not extend as far to the right as line 1; and 15 for line 3. This indicates a tendency toward smaller letters, and consequently more letters in subsequent lines than in these first three when completed. Hogarth had for his first complete line  $\tau[\epsilon\sigma]\acute{o}\chi o[\nu]$  τὸ πρόπυλον Πνεφερώτι καὶ, 30 letters. We should, then, expect the three lines of the Michigan inscription to be somewhat less than 30 letters in length. Following another inscription from the Fayûm<sup>6</sup> they may be completed as

Ὑπὲρ βασι]λέως Πτολεμαίου (22 letters)  
τοῦ καὶ Ἀλ]εξάνδρου θεοῦ (20 letters)  
Φιλομήτορ]ος καὶ βασιλίσσης (24 letters)

These three lines linked with Hogarth's text beginning τῶν] τέκνων do not have continuity, and we must assume that at least one line was lost in the break. The inscription from the Fayûm just mentioned continues with Βερενίκης τῆς ἀδελφῆς θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου to which καί would have to be added to join with τῶν] τέκνων. This gives 36 letters, which are too many. A papyrus of 101 B.C. gives a clew here.<sup>7</sup> It has Βερενίκης θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου to which we must add καί for a total of 26 letters. This may be considered a suitable length for the line.

The line beginning τῶν] τέκνων presents one difficulty which cannot be overcome, that of a personal name. The letters  $\tau[\epsilon\sigma]\acute{o}\chi o[\nu]$  beginning the following line can only be completed with Πε-, giving Πετεσούχον, a personal name very common in the Arsinoite nome (the Fayûm). This was done by Hogarth, and he was probably right in making the case genitive, indicating that this name was preceded by another in the nominative case, giving ---, the son of Petesouchos. What this other name was there is no way of knowing. However, if we follow another dedicatory inscription

<sup>6</sup> Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 4623, 101 B.C. Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης τῆς ἀδελφῆς θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου. . . .

<sup>7</sup> *P. Teb.* 106. 3-4.

on behalf of Ptolemy Alexander <sup>8</sup> we may add καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων after τῶν] τέκνων which together with Πε at the end gives 24 letters. The next line contains 30 letters; the preceding 26.<sup>9</sup> Space is thus left for a name in the nominative case from four to six letters, ample for one of a number of Egyptian personal names.<sup>10</sup> With this restoration the complete text of the Hogarth-Michigan inscription is

Ὑπὲρ βασι]λέως Πτολεμαίου  
 τοῦ καὶ Ἀλ]εξάνδρου θεοῦ  
 Φιλομήτορ]ος καὶ βασιλίσσης  
 [Βερενίκης θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου καὶ]  
 5 τῶν] τέκνων [καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων . . . . Πε-]  
 τ[εσ]οῦχ[ο] τὸ πρόπυλον Πνεφερῶτι καὶ  
 Πετεσοῦχῳ καὶ τοῖς συννόοις θεοῖς  
 μεγάλοις μεγάλοις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ <sup>11</sup> καὶ τῆς  
 γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων εὐχῇ.  
 10 (ἔτους) ιθ', Μεσορῇ κζ'. <sup>12</sup>

Since the two parts do fit together so well we may feel reasonably sure that they originally formed the lintel of the north propylon and that it was erected in the 19th year of Ptolemy Alexander, Mesore 27, i. e., August 20, 95 B.C.<sup>13</sup>

Also during the excavations in the South Temple area a large limestone block <sup>14</sup> was found just to the south of the steps at the east end of the forecourt. It had been broken into three major portions and was lying against the east wall of the forecourt. Its position and the fact that it was a lintel inscribed with a dedication made it appear that it had been used over the entrance at the head of the stairs. It was very badly scaled, and in some parts the lettering was all but obliterated, making decipherment

<sup>8</sup> O.G.I.S., 740. Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ κ[αὶ] Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ βασιλίσσης [Κ]λ[εοπάτρας] τῆς ἀδελφῆς θεῶν Φιλομητόρων Σωτήρων καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν [ἐκ]γόνων Ἡρωὶ θεῷ μεγάλῳ Φαμενῶθ ἁ.

<sup>9</sup> As we have restored it.

<sup>10</sup> E. g., Ὡρος, Ὡρίων, Ἀβύκας, Ἀκύλας, Δημάς, Διδάς, Ἑρμῆς.

καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων in no way correspond to the remains of letters as indicated by Hogarth. This, however, is no particular argument against such a restoration. Hogarth himself does not indicate the remains of ΠΕ at the end of the line, though he assumes that reading necessary. That is to say he took no particular pains in copying mutilated letters.

Another restoration would be to omit καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων and assume a longer personal name, e. g., with ὁ καὶ giving --- ὁ καὶ --- Πετεσοῦχον.

<sup>11</sup> Hogarth reads αὐτοῦ.

<sup>12</sup> Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 6252, an inscription from Theadelphia, 137 B.C., paralleling this in form reads: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς, θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν Ἀγαθοδῶρος Ἀγαθοδώρον Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῆς β' ἱπ(πα)ρχ(ίας) καὶ Ἰσιδώρα Διονυσίου ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τὰ τέκνα τὸ πρόπυλον καὶ τὸν λίθινον δρόμον Πνεφερῶι θεῷ μεγάλῳ μεγάλῳ εὐχῇ. (\*Ετους) λδ, Θῶνθ θ.

<sup>13</sup> This inscription adds a bit to the scanty information of this period. Bevan (*A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* [London, 1927], p. 332) states that the period beginning with the death of Ptolemy Alexander's mother to the end of his reign (101-89 B.C.) is a "blank," with only four Greek inscriptions from the Fayûm belonging to these years.

<sup>14</sup> 38 cm. (height) × 36 cm. (thickness) × 169 cm. (width).

extremely difficult. In each upper corner was carved the crude figure of a crocodile and in the center an incense altar (see Plate LXIX, 2).<sup>15</sup> The lettering throughout was very coarse and irregular, due in part at least to the very poor texture of the stone, and also to the failure of the stonemason to proportion his text before starting to cut. I first transcribed the inscription as

[Υ]ΠΕΡ [Λ]ΟΥΚΙΟΥ Α[ΥΡ]ΗΛΙΟΥ  
 ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ  
 [Μ]ΕΣΟΡΗ ΚΑΤ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΥΣ ΙΓ'  
 ΥΠΕΡ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ  
 ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣ.....ΠΕΤΕΣΟΥΧΩ ΚΑΙ ΠΝΕΦΕΡΩΤΙ ΘΕΟΙΣ  
 ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΕΠ ΑΓΑΘΩ

Obviously the first ΥΠΕΡ was a mistake, but I did not check the reading since at the time the exact date was not of any particular importance.

In 1935 I again became interested in the inscription and Roberts,<sup>16</sup> at my request, was kind enough to check my readings and to send me the following transcript together with answers to certain questions:<sup>17</sup>

ΛΚ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ Α[ΥΡ]ΗΛΙΟΥ  
 ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ  
 [Μ]ΕΣΟΡΗ ΚΑΤ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΥΣ ΙΓ'  
 ΥΠΕΡ [...]ΙΟΥ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ  
 ΚΥΡΙΟΥ  
 ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥ[Σ]ΚΑ[.....]ΙΗΣ ΠΕΤΕΣΟΥΧΩ ΚΑΙ ΠΝΕΦΕΡΩΤΙ ΘΕΟΙΣ  
 ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΕΠ ΑΓΑΘΩ

A very recent study of photographs of the inscription has necessitated a revision of Roberts' transcript as well as my own.<sup>18</sup> In line 4 I can find no traces of letters after ΥΠΕΡ. [ΑΙΛ]ΙΟΥ would not be admissible in that it violates the order of the Roman name; [ΚΥΡ]ΙΟΥ is most unlikely too since it is used at the end of the line.

<sup>15</sup> No single photograph of the entire block is sufficiently clear for reproduction. The drawing, made from several photographs, is a fairly accurate copy except that all lettering is shown as being equally distinct.

<sup>16</sup> See note 1.

<sup>17</sup> "Line 1. The ΛΚ is quite clear; a small space intervenes between it and the subsequent word, but there are no traces of another numeral.

"Line 4. ΥΠΕΡ is unmistakable and there is no room for any letters before it; immediately after it the surface of the stone is worn away and any reading before ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ must be regarded as doubtful. Perhaps [ΑΙΛ]ΙΟΥ, or less probably, [ΚΥΡ]ΙΟΥ.

"Line 5. The ΕΥ is very lightly cut, perhaps after the rest of the line, and the letters are much smaller than the following ΤΥΧ; whereas the top stroke of the Τ measures 2.5 cm., the space between that stroke and the raised vertical column which marks the limit of the inscription is only 2 cm. The letters vary so much in size that the number of those lost between ΚΑ and ΙΗΣ cannot be precisely calculated."

<sup>18</sup> Photographs occasionally, as here, are better than the original. Their smallness, compared to the object itself, can bring out letter forms which are obscured by the very size of the actual letters.



Both of us, I believe, were wrong in reading ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣ in line 5. The fact that the other dedication on behalf of Commodus at Karanis<sup>19</sup> gave Εὐτυχῆς as one of his titles exerted too strong an influence on us. In the photograph I can find no trace of ΕΥ. However, ΤΥΧΗΣ ΚΑΙ is fairly plain. Following this is Δ[.]ΜΟΝΗΣ which can only be ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΣ. I have been unable to find τύχη and διαμονή in combination elsewhere but each is used similarly in other dedicatory inscriptions.<sup>20</sup> The complete text then is

(ἔτους) κ Λουκίου Α[ύρ]ηλίου  
 Κομμόδου Σεβαστοῦ  
 [Μ]εσορῆ κατ' ἀρχαίους ἰγ  
 ὑπὲρ Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 τύχης καὶ δ[ια]μονῆς Πετρεσούχῳ καὶ Πνεφερώτῃ θεοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ

Μεσορῆ κατ' ἀρχαίους ἰγ is an example of dating according to the old Egyptian "Wandeljahr."<sup>21</sup> Its equivalent in the Roman calendar is to be determined through documents in which the Egyptian and Roman calendars are equated. Since the Egyptian year was 365 days in length the divergence between the two calendars increased one day every four years. *P. Par.*, 19b, 4-5 (A.D. 138) gives the equation μηνὸς Ἀδριανοῦ ἦ, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους Τῦβι ἰῆ. In this year the divergence is 40 days. *P. Fay.*, 139, 4-6 (A.D. 161), a horoscope, has καθ' Ἑλλήνας Μεσορῆ ε ὥρα ζ ἡμέρα<ς> κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους Θῶθ ιϛ, a divergence of 46 days.<sup>22</sup> The twentieth year of Commodus is 179/80;<sup>23</sup> Mesore κατ' ἀρχαίους would be in 180. Since the difference between the two calendars was 46 days in 161 this would be increased to 51 days in 180. Accordingly Μεσορῆ κατ' ἀρχαίους ἰγ is equivalent to Παῦνι κβ καθ' Ἑλλήνας or June 16, 180, the date on which the forecourt was dedicated.

Since the north gate was repaired and dedicated in the time of Commodus also we may look upon the end of the second century as a period of revived interest in the cult of the two crocodile gods that resulted in considerable building at Karanis. Such building may not have been restricted to the two structures just mentioned although our information is limited to the inscriptions carved on their lintels.

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<sup>19</sup> Grenfell, Hunt, Hogarth, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>20</sup> E. g., *I.G.R.P.*, I, 1289: Ὑπε[ρ] Αὐτοκ[ρ]άτο[ρ]ος Καίσαρος [Δο]μιτ[ι]ανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τύχης καὶ τοῦ παντὸς οἴκου αὐτοῦ Ἡρᾶ θεᾷ μεγίστῃ . . . ; *O.G.I.S.*, 708: Ὑπε[ρ] σω[τηρί]ας [καὶ] διαμονῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρ[ος] Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐ[ρηλ]ίου [Κομμόδου] Ἀντω[νείν]ου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦ[s καὶ] τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτ[οῦ] οἴκου. . .

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion of such double dating see Wilcken, *Ostraka*, I, pp. 791 ff.

<sup>22</sup> The editors state that the divergence here is 44 days, which is in error. In computing probably the numeral ζ after ὥρα was used rather than the ε after Μεσορῆ. These two papyri provide us with a check on the two calendars. The period 138-161 is 24 years in length. Since the divergence increased one day in every four years the increase in this period would be six days. If the difference in 138 was 40 days a difference of 46 days is proper for 161.

<sup>23</sup> Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 54; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. lviii.

## NUMISMATIC COMMENTS

(PLATE LXIX)

### III. The Sales Policy of a Great English Collector of Antiquities.

IT WAS in 1799 that a young officer of the Royal Artillery, Captain William Martin Leake, was sent in his 22nd year to Turkey by the British Government of those days to instruct and advise the Turkish armies in their gallant fight against Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> He became one of the most important British agents in the Orient and was successful in bringing the occasionally wavering Turkish governments and pashas back to their pro-British attitude, thus defeating the India plans of Napoleon and helping to build up the strong position of the British Empire in the Mediterranean region. Leake returned after many adventurous journeys and expeditions in Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece finally to England in 1812 where he retired into private life as a Lieutenant-Colonel and ardent Philhellene.<sup>2</sup>

His unusual career during the Napoleonic wars had kindled in this British officer the flame of true scholarship. He became an expert in the geography of Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria during the Greek and Roman periods, his discoveries of ancient sites remaining a foundation of archaeological research up to the present time.<sup>3</sup> In addition, he formed a famous collection of vases, bronzes, gems, and especially coins, the nucleus of which he had acquired on the spot during his journeys in the Turkish Empire, and which he increased by purchase at great sales in London and Paris. He was the first British numismatist who won an international reputation by publishing two standard numismatic works, *Numismata Hellenica*, *A Catalogue of Greek Coins* (1854-1856), and *Supplement to Numismata Hellenica* (1859). After his death in 1860 his collections were offered to and bought by the University of Cambridge in accordance with his will at a preference price, and are preserved at present in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Up to a short time ago we did not know much of the sources from which Leake filled his collection except for a few coins, the provenance of which he has mentioned in his *Numismata Hellenica* and his *Supplement*. The name of Leake hardly ever

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. H. Marsden, *A Brief Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Late Lieutenant-Colonel William Martin Leake* (1864), pp. 2 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Leake's *Historical Outline of the Greek Revolution* (1826), and the preface of his *Supplement to Numismata Hellenica* (1859).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. his books *Topography of Athens* (1821, 2nd ed. 1841); *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, With Remarks on the Ancient and Modern Geography of That Country* (1824); *Notices of the Chief Egyptian Monuments in the British Museum* (1827, together with the Honourable Charles Yorke); *Travels in the Morea* (1830); *Travels in Northern Greece* (1835); *Peloponnesiaca* (1846); *Some Disputed Questions of Ancient Geography* (1857).

appears in named Sales Catalogues of his period. There exists a considerable number of Sales Catalogues which originally had been in Leake's possession. They now form part of the Library of the Fitzwilliam Museum and were acquired with his collections. In preparing a selection of Greek coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum <sup>4</sup> the present author had occasion to look them up, and found that they are not only priced and named in the usual way, but in addition, Leake has very often made remarks and notes against the lots which he acquired. Most of these coins can easily be found in his Collection, and it appears that W. M. Leake used to give secret instructions to the dealers who bought for him certain coins or gems which he thought worth while with a view to as little competition as possible, a policy followed by many great collectors up to the present day. The following acquisitions of W. M. Leake can now be established as certain or at least as very probable: <sup>5</sup>

1828: *Amateur Sale* (Sotheby 16 VI 1828): 9, 10, 18, 29, 105-108, 125, 131, 179-219. (These lots are marked § or o in Leake's copy; not ascertained: 10, 125.)

1831: *Lord Strangford Sale* (Sotheby 4 VIII 1831): 479 (not marked, ascertained from description).

1833: *Sir George Nayler Sale* (Sotheby 19 VI 1833): 427, 429 (not marked, ascertained from description).

*Sir Robert Abdy Sale* (Sotheby 14 VI 1841): 45, 48, 73, 74, 76, 78, 154, 159, 160, 162-167, 201, 203, 212, 214, 233, 238, 282, 289, 361-363, 368, 467, 497, 508, 509, 511, 599, 605, 617, 618, 644, 664, 665, 670, 671, 718, 729, 740, 741, 753,

756, 759, 767, 770, 771, 774, 777. (These lots are marked '√' in Leake's copy; not ascertained: 238 I, 718 II, 729, 774, 777 II. Several agents received instructions to buy at this important sale.)

*Distinguished Traveller Sale* (Sotheby 21 VI 1841): 10, 14, 15, 20, 21, 31, 32, 36, 40, 52, 57, 58, 60, 64, 66, 67, 76, 120 (G), 121 (G). (Nos. 120/1 were ascertained from the description; the other lots are marked √ in Leake's copy; not ascertained: 20, 21, 52. Lot 140 was presented to the British Museum by Leake.)

1841: *Sotheby 22 VI 1841*: 14, 17, 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 (LG). (These lots are marked in one or both of Leake's copies of this catalogue.)

<sup>4</sup> *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, IV, Fitzwilliam Museum: Leake and General Collections*. Part I (1940), II (1947). To be continued.

<sup>5</sup> The abbreviation (G) indicates that the lots in question were bought, but not published by Leake. These coins are preserved in the General Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum and are labelled 'Ex L.' (GL) indicates that portions of a lot form part of the Leake, others of the General Collections.

The following catalogues of Greek coin sales from Leake's library show neither his notes nor signs which can be interpreted as acquisition marks, nor do there seem to be other indications of purchase: *Trattle Sale* (Sotheby 30 V 1832); *British Museum Duplicates* (Sotheby 5 VI 1834); *Sotheby 6 III 1841*; *Twisden Sale* (Sotheby 21 V 1841); *St. Patrick Sale* (Sotheby 30 VI 1842); *Vidal Sale* (Sotheby 27 VII 1842); *Comte de Jessaint Sale* (Paris 1 XII 1846); *Edmonds Sale* (Sotheby 3 II 1854); *Bird Sale* (Sotheby 15 V 1854); *Stokes Sale* (Sotheby 27 XI 1854); *Green Sale II* (Sotheby 14 XI 1855); *Moore Sale* (Sotheby 24 I 1856); *Auldjo Sale* (Sotheby 30 VI 1856); *Langdon Sale I* (Sotheby 3 XI 1856); *Langdon Sale II* (Sotheby 2 III 1858); *Curt Sale I* (Sotheby 16 IV 1858); *Green Sale III* (Sotheby 17 V 1858); *Sotheby 18 V 1858*; *Collector-Conylbeare* (Sotheby 19 V 1858); *Badham Sale* (Sotheby 8 VII 1858); *Nobleman Sale* (Sotheby 24 XI 1858); *Burgon Sale* (Sotheby 22 XII 1858); *Cureton Sale* (Sotheby 10 I 1859); *Huxtable Sale* (Sotheby 16 IV 1859); *Merlin Sale* (Sotheby 10 XI 1859); *Paris 24 XI 1859*.



*J. R. Stuart Sale* (Sotheby 19 VII 1841): 93-96, 98-100, 102, 109, 146, 147, 150, 152-154, 156 (LG), 158, 159, 161, 163, 165, 168, 177, 180-184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190 (LG), 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 200, 201, 202, 209, 212, 213, 218, 219, 415, 424, 433, 434, 435, 444, 445, 447, 448, 449 (LG), 450-454, 456 (LG), 457, 460 (LG), 462 (G). (These lots are marked '✓' or '×' in Leake's copy and are occasionally priced, but all this with very faint pencil strokes, so that a few lots may have been overlooked or included by mistake by the present author; not ascertained: 182, 183, 187, 193, 154 V, 184 II, 190 I, 444 I, 448, 453 II, 456 IV, 462 II, III.)

1842: *B. M. dupl. Sale* (Sotheby 9 V 1842): 635 (Brumell Sale 116; ascertained from description; not marked).

1844: *Duke of Devonshire Sale* (Christie 18 III 1844): 3, 5, 8 (?), 12, 23, 32, 37, 51, 215 (E), 231 (E), 233, 240 (E), 384, 385, 397 (?), 569, 735 (E), 736 (E), 748, 754, 919-921, 1121. (These lots are marked 'WML' in Leake's copy or mentioned in his *Numismata Hellenica*, except those which can be ascertained from the engravings (E) in Haym, *op. cit.*)

*Thomas Thomas Sale* (Sotheby 8 and 29 VII 1844): 2, 10, 14, 23, 25, 39, 46, 50, 51, 54, 133, 139, 141, 145, 146, 154, 160, 170, 172, 181 (G), 182 (G), 242, 243, 251, 274, 291, 379, 414, 480, 497, 587, 617, 714, 726, 734, 737, 741, 757, 843, 844, 846, 848, 855, 857, 859, 879, 882, 889, 983, 1002, 1006, 1015, 1023, 1106, 1108, 1109, 1133, 1136, 1142, 1148, 1159, 1252, 1255, 1268, 1276, 1359, 1377, 1384, 1390, 1394, 1504, 1509, 1514, 1620, 1634, 1645, 1732, 1739, 1742, 1865, 1999, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2032 (LG), 2037 (LG), 2143, 2149, 2269, 2271, 2277, 2279, 2281, 2287, 2297, 2385, 2387, 2411, 2415, 2423, 2428, 2433, 2519, 2528, 2535, 2540, 2553, 2564, 2571, 2655, 2659, 2665, 2674, 2684, 2689, 2702, 2816, 2959. (These lots are either marked 'M' or 'WML' in Leake's copy, or Leake has written for them labels marked '⊗' or he has mentioned them in his *Numismata Hellenica*; not ascertained: 737, 1504 II, 1509 I, 2143 III.)

1845: *Revil Sale* (Paris 24 II 1845): 293-296, 297 (?), 301, 325, 334, 339, 341, 342, 344, 347, 357, 358, 361, 363, 368, 371, 375, 377, 378, 382, 407, 419, 425, 427, 428, 448-450, 454-456. (These lots were acquired from the Rollin Sales of 1849-1853 or bought from the dealer Curt. They are marked 'WM' or with a cross in pencil, or are mentioned in the *Numismata Hellenica*, except Nos. 341, 342, 371, 378, which are ascertained from the description.)

1846: *William Till Sale* (Sotheby 20 IV 1846): 27, 28, 69, 74, 76, 84, 85, 126, 134, 150, 152-155, 157, 158, 159 (LG), 198, 201, 215, 216, 224, 227, 228, 269, 276, 282, 285, 324, 333-337, 341, 470, 474, 475, 481, 483, 484, 488, 489, 492, 495, 498 (LG), 501 (LG), 503, 557, 560, 628, 636, 638, 642, 645, 647, 649, 655, 658, 659, 660, 764-767, 769, 770, 774-776, 777 (LG), 779, 780, 783, 791, 797, 797\*, 906, 911, 914, 920, 926, 927, 932 (LG), 935 ('Antiochus I' in Forgeries Cabinet), 936. (These lots are marked 'WML' or '✓' in Leake's copy. Some marks are with pencil and so faint that a few lots may have been overlooked or included by mistake; not ascertained: 27 ('Lamia'), 333, 336, 649 II, 765 I, 926 ('Agathocles').)

*Campana Sale* (Sotheby 23 VII 1846): 2, 7, 9, 142, 203 (G), 268, 270, 308, 546, 548, 753, 758 (G), 837, 885, 886, 890, 971, 972, 1101, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1109, 1114, 1117, 1205, 1248, 1250, 1274, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1379, 1384, 1399, 1420, 1421, 1428, 1440, 1448, 1484 (G), 1516, 1525. Lots 2, 7, 9, 142, 203, 268, 270, 308, 546, 548, 606 (passed on to the Brit. Mus. by Leake), 837, 885, 890, 971, 972, 1024 (passed on to the Brit. Mus.), 1101, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1109, 1114, 1248, 1274, 1276, 1278, 1379, 1384, 1399, 1415 (passed on to the Brit. Mus.), 1420, 1421, 1428, 1448, 1484, 1516 are marked very faintly '✓' or similar in Leake's copy. All other lots are ascertained from description. Several agents received instructions to buy at this sale.

1847: *Captain Macdonald Sale* (Sotheby 21 VI 1847): 100, 103, 104, 105, 109, 111. (These lots are marked 'WML' in Leake's copy.)

1848: *Cattley Sale* (Sotheby 19 VI 1848): 71, 82, 88, 92, 95-98, 99 (LG), 100 (LG), 101 (LG). (These lots are marked '√' or '—' in Leake's copy; not ascertained: 71 III, 82 I, 88 III, 95 III, 99 II, III.)

*Gentleman Sale* (Sotheby 20 VI 1848): 46, 47 (G), 48 (G), 49 (G), 60 (G), 71, 72, 74, 75, 79, 91, 126, 128, 130, 131, 140, 147, 149, 157, 163. (These lots are marked '√' or '—' in Leake's copy; not ascertained: 72 I, 75 I.)

*Earl of Pembroke Sale* (Sotheby 31 VII 1848): 398, 401, 498 (E), 499 (E), 516 (E), 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623 (E), 624-627, 628 (E), 629, 633, 637, 656, 738 (E), 759 (E), 862, 877 (E), 909, 912, 919, 993, 994, 995, 1006-1009, 1015, 1016, 1021, 1119-1121, 1123, 1127, 1128, 1130 (E), 1133, 1134 (E), 1138 (E), 1144, 1153, 1160, 1161, 1164, 1167, 1246-1248, 1252, 1255, 1256, 1261 (E), 1281, 1287, 1289. (These lots are mentioned in the *Numismata Hellenica*, on labels written by Leake, or marked in his copy of the catalogue or in his copy of T. E. Mionnet, *Description des monnaies Grecques et Romaines*. Unfortunately, the catalogue copy of Leake is only occasionally marked; but a number of lots (E) could be ascertained from comparison with the engravings in *Numismata Pembrochiana*.)

*M. I. Borrell Sale* (Sotheby 16 XI 1848): 10-15, 18, 28 (LG), 30, 34, 38, 40, 61, 62, 68, 82, 98, 101, 110, 120, 126, 129, 139, 145, 173-176, 177 (G), 178 (G), 179. (These lots are marked '√', '×' or 'q' in Leake's copy. There are other marks, but without reference to acquisition; not ascertained: 12 III, 13 X, 14 I, 110, 145 II, 174, 179.)

1849: *Rollin Sale I* (Sotheby 25 VII 1849): 33, 110, 145 (LG), 319 (LG), 429, 439, 452 (LG), 454, 474, 537, 538, 553, 849, 874. (These lots are marked 'WML' in Leake's copy or marked in Leake's copy of the Revil Sale of 1845 except 874 which is mentioned in the *Numismata Hellenica*; not ascertained: 454 V.)

1850: *John Brumell Sale* (Sotheby 19 IV 1850): 116 (= B. M. dupl. 1842 635; not marked, ascertained from description).

*Lord Holmesdale Sale* (Sotheby 8 VII 1850): 780, 781 (LG), 782. (These lots were marked by Leake with a cross. There are other signs which do not refer to acquisition.)

1851: *Rev. E. T. Leigh Sale* (Sotheby 22 V 1851): 67, 77, 80, 94, 101, 104, 121, 122, 174, 207-209, 211, 218, 219, 223, 225, 227, 229, 230 (G), 235 (G), 276, 279 (G), 280, 284, 286 (LG). (These lots are marked '√' or '×' in Leake's copy except 121, 122, which can be ascertained from the description: not ascertained: 223, 276.)

1852: *H. P. Borrell Sale* (Sotheby 12 VII 1852): 5, 20, 36, 57, 78, 88, 89, 92, 93, 166, 194, 196, 236. (These lots are marked 'WML' in Leake's copy, except 166, 194, 196, 236, which were ascertained from the description; not ascertained: 5, and, perhaps, 92, 93.)

*Major General C. R. Fox Sale* (Sotheby 31 VII 1852): 5, 20, 36, 57, 78, 89, 91, 92 (LG), 93, 113, 149. (These lots are marked 'WML' in Leake's copy except 149 which could be ascertained from the description; not ascertained: 78 IX, 113 VIII.)

1853: *Sabatier Sale* (Sotheby 25 IV 1853): 18, 22, 29, 32, 40 (GL), 159 (GL), 160 (GL), 559, 561, 562, 565, 566, 568, 569, 570, 571 (GL), 572, 573, 575, 576, 577 (GL), 578, 579, 582, 583, 585, 587, 588 (GL), 589, 590, 591 (GL), 594, 595, 599, 603, 607 (GL), 609 (GL), 610, 615, 650, 651, 652, 742, 743, 747 (GL), 749, 778. (These lots are marked with a cross in Leake's copy except 749 which could be ascertained from the description. Marked, but not ascertained, and mostly presented or sold to the British Museum or individual collectors: 18 II, III, V, VI; 20; 22 VIII, IX; 23; 24; 29 IV, V, Va, VI; 32 II; 40 IV; 159 II, III, IV; 160 I, III-V, VII; 558; 559 III; 561 II; 562 II; 563; 564; 566 I, II, IV; 567; 568 III; 569 II; 571 I; 572 III, IV; 573 I-III; 574; 575 II-IV; 576 I, II, IV, VI, VII; 577 I, IV, V, VII; 578 III-V; 579 I-III, VI; 580; 581; 582 I, III, IV; 583 I, IV, V; 584; 585 IV, VIII; 586; 587 I; 589 I, IV; 590 III, IV; 592; 593; 594 II-IV;

595 I, II; 596; 597; 598; 600; 601; 602; 604; 605; 606; 607 I, IV, VI; 608; 609 I, V; 610 II-IV, VI, VIII; 615 V; 620; 625; 653-658; 668; 718; 733; 743 XX; 747 II, IV; 772.)

*Rollin Sale II* (Sotheby 12 VII 1853): 136, 278, 516, 525 (136 is marked 'WML' in one of Leake's copies; 516 and 525 are mentioned in the *Numismata Hellenica*, and 278 was ascertained from the description).

1854: *J. D. Cuff Sale* (Sotheby 8 VI 1854): 90 (ascertained from the description, and perhaps faintly marked with pencil).

1855: *C. W. Loscombe Sale* (Sotheby 30 III 1855): 82, 98, 126, 152, 155, 177, 202, 210, 220, 244, 254, 312, 316, 324, 337, 365, 366, 367, 374, 375, 380, 398 (G), 401, 429, 452, 453, 463, 510, 518, 555, 557, 560, 565. (These lots are marked 'WML' in Leake's copy; not ascertained: 98 III, 555 II.)

*R. Rochette Sale* (Paris, 15 IV 1855): 311 (not marked, ascertained from the description).

*General Ramsay Sale* (Christie 4 VII 1855): 199, 247, 339, 341 (LG), 343. (These lots are marked '✓' in Leake's copy; not ascertained: 339.)

1856: *W. H. Waddington Sale* (Sotheby 2 VII 1856): 46, 48, 50, 52, 57-62, 67, 68, 70, 77 (LG), 78-86, 88, 92, 95, 96, 98, 104, 105, 107, 109, 112, 115, 117, 119-126, 127 (LG), 128, 130, 134, 135, 137, 139, 141, 170, 176, 177, 180 (LG), 184, 191, 192 (LG), 193, 203-207, 209, 210, 213, 216-220, 224, 227 (LG), 228-231, 234, 235, 236 (LG), 237, 239, 241, 242, 245, 247, 249, 250, 251 (LG), 253, 254, 257, 258. (Not marked, the description of rare or peculiar coins or of large lots all to be found in the Leake Collection make our attribution practically certain.)

1857: *Promber Sale* (Paris 16 III 1857): 34 (marked in Leake's copy).

*Green Sale II* (Sotheby 19 III 1857): 2 (LG), 4 (LG), 6 (LG), 13 (LG), 14, 15, 17 (LG),

20-22, 33-38, 42, 44, 48, 96, 101. (Marked 'Col. Leake' in the Museum's copy; not ascertained: 13 I, IV, 15 V, 96 II.)

1858: *Captain Thomas Graves Sale* (Sotheby 21 IV 1858): 63, 82 (B), 83, 84, 89 (B), 96, 102 (B), 108, 110, 112, 113, 116, 152, 154, 155, 158, 159, 182, 191. (Not marked; a few lots are marked by M. Borrell in a Museum's copy of the *Supplement to Numismata Hellenica* (B); the other lots are ascertained from the description of rare and peculiar coins, and from slips in description and attribution which are repeated in the *Supplement*.)

*Whittall Sale* (Sotheby 15 XI 1858): 480 (GL). (Not marked, ascertained from description.)

*Tochon d'Annecy Sale* (Paris 17 XII 1858): 349, 350, 368-370, 371, 509, 568, 569, 573, 710, 715, 735 bis, 742, 745, 746, 752. (509, 742 marked WML. 350, 509 are mentioned in Leake's *Supplement*. The other lots were ascertained from their description; not ascertained 371 II, IV, VI, VII, VIII; 715 IX.)

1859: *Comte de Palin Sale* (Paris 14 IV 1859): 126, 154, 205, 211, 226, 239, 244 (no certain acquisition marks, but signs of different meaning; the description does not allow us to establish the provenance with certainty).

*T. L. E. Curt Sale II* (Sotheby 11 XI 1859): 713 (= Palin 244), 715 (not marked, provenance not established with certainty from description.)

*Lord Northwick Sale* (Sotheby 5 XII 1859): 42 (L), 49 (LG), 91, 495, 583 (G), 697 (G), 756 (G), 928 (G), 950 (LG), 965 (G), 973 (G), 1039 (G), 1040 (LG), 1194 (G), 1220 (G), 1395. (These lots are marked 'WML' or have a reference note in Leake's copy, or they have labels written by Leake which give their provenance, or M. Borrell marks them in a Museum's copy of the *Supplement* and notes their provenance. Nos. 42, 91, 950, 965, 1395 are ascertained from the description.)



It appears from the foregoing that the provenance of about 1500 Leake coins can now be established, and in addition that of a number of coins in the General Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum which originally formed an unpublished addendum to the Leake Collection. Considerable portions, especially of the bronze coins, of three distinguished English private collections of the late 17th century have been included in the Leake Collection, those of Sir Robert Abdy, the Duke of Devonshire, and the Earl of Pembroke. Many of these coins were published more than 200 years ago with engravings.<sup>6</sup> They have been discussed by famous numismatists of an earlier age like Ekhel, Mionnet and Millingen. Similarly, a considerable number of coins from the famous Continental cabinets of Cavaliere Campana in Italy, of J. Sabatier of St. Petersburg, and of Count Tochon d'Annecy in France,<sup>7</sup> and from famous English Collections of the early 19th century, also discussed by Mionnet and Millingen, e. g., from the collections of Lieutenant-General C. R. Fox,<sup>8</sup> the Rev. E. T. Leigh, C. W. Loscombe, Lord Northwick, I. R. Steuart, Thomas Thomas, William Till, and W. H. Waddington,<sup>9</sup> are not lost for us, as hitherto was feared. The pieces form part of the Leake or the General Collections of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and the ancient engravings and descriptions, some considered up to now as representing "ghost" coins, can easily be compared with the originals.

The phrase *πόλεμος πατήρ πάντων* is not always right; but it was a great war of more than a century ago which developed the taste and scholarship of W. M. Leake and saved many invaluable remains of antiquity from dispersal and loss.

#### IV. A Sassanian Issue in Antioch on the Orontes at the Time of Trebonianus Gallus.

Coins which have been defaced intentionally are neither liked by private collectors nor accepted with eagerness by Museum officials. Nevertheless they are occasionally of historic importance. This is the case with a Syrian provincial tetradrachm issued in Antioch on the Orontes with the head of the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus, and now preserved in the General Collection of Greek Coins of the Fitzwilliam Museum,

<sup>6</sup> Nicolas Haym, *Del tesoro britannico. Overo il museo nummario ove si contengono le medaglie greche et latine in ogni metallo e forma, non prima publicate*, vol. I, II (London, 1719/20; 2nd edition by Christiani and Khell, Vienna, 1762/4, in Latin); *Numismata antiqua in tres partes divisa, collegii Thomas Pembrochiae et Montis Gomerici comes* (London, 1746).

<sup>7</sup> A considerable part of Tochon's Collection was acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris in 1821, of Sabatier's Collection by the British Museum in 1853. Cf. E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, vol. I (1901), cols. 218, 300.

<sup>8</sup> The bulk of this Collection was acquired for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin in 1873. Cf. Babelon, *op. cit.*, col. 288.

<sup>9</sup> Waddington's main collection was acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris in 1897. Cf. Babelon, *op. cit.*, col. 228. For Lord Northwick cf. H. Noehden, *Specimens of Ancient Coins of Magna Graecia and Sicily Selected from the Cabinet of the Right Hon. the Lord Northwick* (London, 1826); Babelon, *op. cit.*, cols. 181, 208, 333.

Cambridge.<sup>10</sup> The piece is common, and of the general type of *Brit. Mus. Cat. Galatia*, etc., pp. 227, 637. It is of uncertain provenance, but has been at least 40 years in the Museum, as its labels show. The defacement was made by a sharp instrument, and is earlier than the beautiful dark green patina of the piece. Three strokes damaged vital parts of the Emperor's head on the Obv.; five further marks on the Rev. almost obliterated the eagle of Antioch and replaced it by something like a regular pattern which may or may not be a sign of value. This seems to be an issue which was to have indicated the obliteration of both the Emperor's power and Antioch's wealth.

Professors Olmstead and Rostovtzeff<sup>11</sup> have recently proved both from literary and numismatic sources, and from a great new inscription of the Sassanian king of kings Shapur I, not only that Antioch on the Orontes was taken in A.D. 253 by this ruler, but also that Roman Syria was in fact occupied by the Persians at the time of Trebonianus Gallus and his immediate successors. In addition Professor Bellinger<sup>12</sup> has shown that the variety to which our coin belongs is the last Roman provincial issue in Antioch, before this town was lost to the enemy. Under these circumstances the Cambridge tetradrachm is not to be considered as the product of the whim of some private person, but as an official Sassanian issue during the time of the Persian occupation of Antioch. It may be worthwhile to scan other collections whether there are not similar pieces in them which actually are Sassanian overstrikes over Roman provincial and even Roman imperial coins of the third century after Christ.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

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<sup>10</sup> My thanks are due to Director L. C. G. Clarke of The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, for his kind permission to publish the above coin on Plate LXIX.

<sup>11</sup> A. T. Olmstead, "The Mid-Third Century of the Christian Era," *C.P.*, XXXVII, 1942, pp. 241 f., 398 f., especially 403 f.; M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis and Dura," *Berytus*, VIII, 1943, pp. 23 f., 34 f., 41 f.

<sup>12</sup> A. R. Bellinger, "The Numismatic Evidence from Dura," *Berytus*, VIII, 1943, pp. 61 f. Our coin is of the type of Professor Bellinger's latest issue of Antioch, *Berytus*, *loc. cit.*, plate VIII, 1, but was minted slightly later than his coin, as should be expected. The Obv. of the Cambridge specimen has two pellets instead of Professor Bellinger's one, the Rev. B instead of A. The eagle on the Rev. differs slightly.

## THE DECREES OF KALLIAS

THE well-known decrees of Kallias, which contain regulations not only for financial reform but also for the rehabilitation of the Acropolis, have come to be dated, by general consent, in 434/3. Dinsmoor now reopens the question and assigns them to 438/7.<sup>1</sup> His arguments should be briefly examined.

(1) Dinsmoor argues that a date so late as 434/3 seems incompatible with the story of the gradual depletion of the Athenian treasury down to 431 B.C., as reported by Perikles (Thuc., II, 13, 3), and that the reserve can never have reached the Thucydidean total of 9,700 talents if the deposit of 3,000 talents mentioned in the Kallias decrees was made as late as 434.

This raises large problems of Periklean finance before the Peloponnesian War, which are difficult but are not solved by dating the Kallias decrees in 438. Dinsmoor assumes that the 3,000 talents were added to Athenian resources in one lump: this is impossible.<sup>2</sup> The payment must have been cumulative, and we are certain that, even assuming the most favorable circumstances and at whatever date we put Kallias' decrees, a total of 9,700 talents can never have been reached at any one time. Whether the alternative text of Thucydides (II, 13, 3) which is quoted by a scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1193, is to be preferred, is a question we need not determine here, but Dinsmoor's observations do not dispose of it.<sup>3</sup> The scholion reads as follows: ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει αἰεί ποτε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων (τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα περιεγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τὰλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ εἰς Ποτίδαιαν ἐπανηλώθη). This gives to the grand total in the reserve an average (not a maximum) of about 6,000 talents. About 5,700 talents remained, after the expenses of the Propylaia and the other buildings and of Poteidaia had somewhat depleted it. The amount of these expenses is not defined. Presumably they were the 300 talents in addition to whatever the normal increment would have been during the period covered by the building program and the war at Poteidaia. It is therefore not a legitimate argument against it to say that it "would leave us with the preposterous result that only 300 talents were expended on the Propylaia and other buildings and (down to the time of the speech) on the siege of

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Hekatompedon on the Athenian Acropolis," *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 109-151, especially pp. 127-140. In the following paper references to the decrees of Kallias cite or amend the texts as published by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I (1939), pp. 160-161, D1 and D2.

<sup>2</sup> The reserve fund described by Thucydides included all moneys available to the Athenian state, so that mere transfer from one fund to another cannot either have increased or diminished the total. At no time was a sum of 3,000 talents, previously not available, suddenly made available in this reserve.

<sup>3</sup> Dinsmoor says (*loc. cit.*, p. 131, note 114) that the text "was garbled . . . by the mere omission of the word μύρια." This is untrue: there are three other significant changes, and the resulting text gives a coherent meaning (in rather doubtful Greek) which is totally different from that of the book texts.



Potidaia all combined." But these, at the moment, are minor matters. The main consideration is that putting the Kallias decrees in 438 does not solve the problems of Thucydides, II, 13, 3.

(2) Dinsmoor says that the Kallias decrees order the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon to be executed according to previous vote; that it is known from the building inscriptions that expenses for carving the statues were paid out from 438/7 to 433/2; and hence it would "seem rather senseless to assume that the carving was authorized in 434 B.C. when they were already two-thirds done."

No one except Dinsmoor claims that the Kallias decrees make this authorization. The decrees provide for the completion, not the inception, of work on the Parthenon pediments.<sup>4</sup> The same is true of the Golden Nikai and of the Propylaia.<sup>5</sup> These three projects were already in progress when the Kallias decrees were passed. When Kallias proposed to limit the expenditure of money on the Acropolis to ten talents a year, by way of preamble he exempted from the limitation the Parthenon, the Nikai, and the Propylaia. The clause is no part of the promulgation of a building program;<sup>6</sup> it is a safeguarding clause, exempting from a program of retrenchment certain projects of long standing, and—so far as one could foresee at the time—projects that were nearing final completion. The Athenians were, in fact, instructed to carry on. One may believe, therefore, with Mrs. Thompson, that the Golden Nikai were authorized after the defeat of Samos in 439 or when artisans were free to work on them after the dedication of the Parthenon in 438;<sup>7</sup> and no one will deny that the Propylaia were

<sup>4</sup> The verb ἐκποιεῖν is restored in lines 2 and 4, but there is general agreement about the desirability of this supplement. A *locus classicus* for the meaning of ἐκποιεῖν is Herodotos, II, 125, where the building of the great pyramid of Cheops is described: ἐξεποιήθη δ' ὣν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτων ἐξεποιεῖν, τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν. As applied to the buildings on the Acropolis this meaning suits neither Dinsmoor's date nor his interpretation of the Kallias decrees, and the reference shows clearly that the verb means to finish, not to start, a building. The same meaning is obvious elsewhere, and particularly in the building inscriptions of the Erechtheion (cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 351, s. v. ἐκποιέω). It is true that in lines 3-4 Dinsmoor suggests Προ[πύλαια ἕως ἂν οἰκοδομ]εθῇ παντελὸς (*loc. cit.*, p. 134), and so perhaps proposes to exclude ἐκποιεῖν altogether (is this the one detail to which he refers in his note 88?), but this is not a seriously feasible supplement. Other supplements are no doubt possible, but in our belief παντελὸς is not a word which is likely to be used until a work is getting toward completion.

<sup>5</sup> Dinsmoor again argues (*loc. cit.*, p. 133) that the Kallias decrees should be dated in 438 because, "just as in the case of the pedimental statues of the Parthenon, it would seem superfluous to have authorized the execution of the Propylaia as late as 434 B.C., when the work was three-fifths done." Kallias does not authorize its "execution": he tolerates its completion as an exception to his general economies. There is not the slightest reason for those who favor 434 to postulate "an interruption, temporary abandonment, and resumption of the work under a new contract in 434 B.C." (*loc. cit.*, p. 133, note 129).

<sup>6</sup> Dinsmoor assumes that the previous votes with more details may have been in special decrees, of which the Kallias decrees formed the activation (*loc. cit.*, p. 138, note 154). It is a new concept that decrees earlier passed should have to be "activated"—and in so casual a fashion—by other subsequent decrees.

<sup>7</sup> D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 176; Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*, p. 133.

commenced in 437; but the only bearing of these circumstances on the date of the decrees of Kallias is that all three projects were in sight of completion in 434.<sup>8</sup> Kallias did not order their inception in 438, nor, on other grounds, can one admit that the pediment sculptures for the Parthenon were authorized first at that date. The building inscriptions show that work was being done on them in 438, but the inscriptions also show payments in 439/8 for the quarrying and hauling of stone which must have been intended for the pediments.<sup>9</sup> Dinsmoor has himself so interpreted these items.<sup>10</sup> Hence the authorization for the pediment sculpture antedates 438 and goes back earlier than Dinsmoor's date for the Kallias decrees. This is an additional objection to their being the original authorization, as he proposes, and indeed there is no reason to deny that the sculptures were planned at the time of the first vote on the Parthenon as a whole about 448.<sup>11</sup> It would be extraordinary to think that Iktinos and Pheidias embellished the temple with frieze and metopes, finished all architectural construction, provided the magnificent cult statue of ivory and gold, and dedicated their work to Athena at the Panathenaia of 438 while still uninstructed whether they should plan for sculptured decoration in the pediments.

(3) Dinsmoor argues that the general reorganization of the Acropolis authorized in the Kallias decrees finds epigraphical confirmation in the Propylaia accounts of 437/6 and 434/3; and that hence the Kallias decrees are at least as early as 437.

He restores (*loc. cit.*, p. 134) two items of expense in the building records of the Propylaia as follows: (a) ἀνευ τῶν [ἔργων ἐς τὸ Προπύλαιον], and (b) [ἐς τὸν ἀκρό]πολιν ἀνευ τ[ὸν (ἔργων) ἐς τὰ Π]ροπύλαια.<sup>12</sup> These items should, in our judgment, be restored so as to include the word μισθομάτον from the previous line. We shall then read in 437/6 μισθομά[τον ἐς τὸν ἀκρόπολιν] ἀνευ τῶν [ἐς τὰ Προπύλαια] and in 434/3 [μισθομάτο]ν [ἐς τὸν ἀκρό]πολιν ἀνευ τ[ὸν ἐς τὰ Π]ροπύλαια. The word ἔργων is out of place in the first reference, and there is no need to assume that it was accidentally omitted from the second. The word ἐς which occurs twice in each item will have the same sense throughout: this final item in both years' accounts gives "the wages" paid by the overseers of the Propylaia "for work on the Acropolis apart from those for work on the Propylaia."

Dinsmoor has made it quite clear, from architectural and topographical considerations, that there was work done on the "landscaping" of the Acropolis in connection with both the Parthenon and the Propylaia, and that much of this work was done before 434. So reference to it in the building inscriptions is not surprising. One can

<sup>8</sup> Except by Dinsmoor, this has been generally acknowledged.

<sup>9</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 347, 348.

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 132; also *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 243 (under date of 439/8): "The marble now brought to the Ergasteria is probably to be in readiness for the pediment sculptures."

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, *Pericles*, XII, 5-6, speaks of fairly detailed advance specifications.

<sup>12</sup> These references are to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 363, line 50, of 437/6, and to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 366, line 45, of 434/3 (*plus I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 365, line 22 = *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 384).

restore still an additional item, we believe, in the Propylaia inscription for 436/5 (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 364, lines 30-31): [μ]σθομάτ[ον ἐς τὸν ἀκρόπολιν | ἄνευ τῶν ἐς τὰ Προ-  
πύλαια].<sup>13</sup> There may have been a separate rubric for this work in each annual record of the Propylaia; on the other hand, for such work done under the overseers of the Parthenon there was no separate rubric. Each board kept its accounts in its own way.

There is, however, no reason here for dating the decrees of Kallias before the Propylaia accounts. We do not deny that the work mentioned in the items discussed was work concerned with the Acropolis layout and not different in kind from what Kallias orders; and Dinsmoor's confrontation of Kallias' use of the word ἀκρόπολις with its use in these items is relevant and important. It is even possible that Kallias' orders did not lead to any change in the method of accountancy, *sc.* that the overseers of the Propylaia continued to pay and enter the wages for work near the Propylaia. But this seems to us unlikely: Kallias associates the tamiai<sup>14</sup> with the work which he orders, and earmarks a special ten talents a year for its cost; we should not therefore expect this work to appear in the accounts of the overseers of the Propylaia.

The main point is that "landscaping" on the Acropolis did not begin with Kallias;<sup>15</sup> in this, as in all else, Kallias desires to wind up, to get clear of commitments as soon as he decently can. He therefore seeks to "systematize" the work. There is no reason for surprise (or for antedating his decrees) when we find that similar work was already being done.

The text of the Kallias decrees has been utilized here with the opening lines restored, in part, to read [λόπος δ' ἂν ἐκποι]εθῇ παντελὸς [ἐπισκέφ]σει χρῆσθαι ἅπ[αντας τὸς ἐπιστατῶντας] κατὰ τὰ ἐφσεφισμένα· καὶ τὸν ἀκρόπολιν [νέμεν πλὲν εἰ μὲ τὰ ἐχσε]ργμένα καὶ ἐπι[σκευά]ζεν δέκα τάλαντα ἀ[ναλίσκοντας τῷ ἐνιαυτ]ῷ ἑκαστῷ κτλ. But the purpose clause has alternatively been restored as temporal, in which case the implications are somewhat different. If [ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκποι]εθῇ is read instead of [λόπος δ' ἂν ἐκποι]εθῇ the decree will mean that after the marble pediments, the Golden Nikai, and the Propylaia have been completely finished all the boards of overseers shall take thought together (perhaps [συσσκέφ]σει χρῆσθαι) and fix bounds on the Acropolis and make repairs, spending ten talents a year until the bounds have been fixed and the repairs made as well as possible. With these boards the treasurers of Athena were associated as joint epistatai. If this version is correct the three verbs χρῆσθαι, νέμεν, and ἐπισκευάζεν, closely connected by καί, are all modified by the tem-

<sup>13</sup> We have restored the form Προπύλαια throughout; Dinsmoor restored Προπύλαιον in 437/6 because this form appears in the heading of that same year (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 363, line 2: π[ρο]πυλαίο). If there is any significance in this change and the plural was only used (as Dinsmoor suggests) after 437, it is perhaps worth noting that Kallias both times uses the plural.

<sup>14</sup> One should restore, preferably, in D2, lines 8-9: [συνε]πιστατόντ[ο]ν δ[ὲ τῷ ἔρ]γ[ο]ι [ο]ἱ ταμίαι καὶ [οἱ ἐπιστάται]. See below, p. 283. The earlier reading [ο]ἱ ταμίαι καὶ [ὁ ἀρχιτέκτον] is not probable, in view of the fact that the architect is later directed to collaborate "with the epistatai"—a specification which seems odd if he was in fact one of them.

<sup>15</sup> No more than the "conditioning" (ἐπισκευή) of old structures, which he orders at the same time, began with him.



poral clause, and this is perhaps easier than the assumption, necessary with *hópos* ἄν, that the purpose clause modified only *chrēsthai*. The difficulty of interpretation will now lie chiefly in the fact that, if *ἐπειδάν* is correct, the effective implementation of the general program on the Acropolis must have been postponed for approximately two years. The building inscriptions record expenses for work on the pediment sculptures and on the Propylaia in 433/2, and it would be surprising to find the decrees of Kallias providing for the initiation of a program, and asking that the architect submit a plan, when everyone must have known that nothing was likely to be done about it until 432.

Yet there is another way to interpret these opening lines of Kallias' decree, so reading the text that the main emphasis is put on restrictions about spending the moneys of Athena. The general reorganization of the Acropolis was to cost ten talents a year, but presumably no long period of expense was envisaged.<sup>16</sup> Other charges against Athena's money were not to exceed 10,000 drachmai a year unless authorized by special vote. But the principal drain on Athena's money would continue to be the work on the pediments of the Parthenon, the Nikai, and the Propylaia. These major undertakings were to be completed, and the money for them—too great a sum to come from the new fund of ten talents a year—must have been disbursed as usual according to previous authorizations: *κατὰ τὰ ἐφσεφι[σμένα]*. Hence one may combine a verbal noun with *chrēsthai* so that the concept will mean "spend" rather than "plan" (*e. g.*, *[ἀπαναλό]σει χρῆσθαι* rather than *[ἐπισκέφ]σει χρῆσθαι*), and then read Athena's treasure as once more the source of the funds in *ἀπ[ὸ τὸν χρεμάτων ἈθENAΐας]*. The modifying clause, now probably with *héos* ἄν, instead of *hópos* ἄν or *ἐπειδάν*, permits the necessary spending until the tasks are finished. Construed in this way the text of D2, lines 1-15, reads as follows:

- [ἔδοχσεν τῇ βολεῖ καὶ τῷ δέμοι· Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Μνεσίθε]  
 [ος ἐγραμμάτευε, Ε]ὕπ[ε]ίθε[ς] [ἐπεστάτε, Κ]αλλίας ἐῖπ[ε]· ἐκποιεῖν τὰγά  
 [λματα τὰ λί]θινα καὶ τὰς Νί[κας τὰς χ]ρυσᾶς καὶ τὰ Προ[πύλαια· ἡέος]  
 [δὲ ἄν ἐκποι]εθεῖ παντελὸς [ἀπαναλό]σει χρῆσθαι ἀπ[ὸ τὸν χρεμάτο]  
 5 [ν ἈθENAΐας] κατὰ τὰ ἐφσεφι[σμένα], καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν [νέμεν πλὲν ε]  
 [ἰ μὲ τὰ ἐχσε]ργμένα καὶ ἐπι[σκευά]ζεν δέκα τάλαντα ἀ[ναλίσκοντα]  
 [ς τῷ ἐνιαυτ]ῷ ἡεκάστο ἡέος [ἄν νεμε]θεῖ καὶ ἐπισκευα[σθεῖ ἡος κάλ]  
 [λιστα· συνε]πιστατόντ[ο]ν δ[ὲ τῷ ἔρ]γ[ο]ι [ο]ἱ ταμίαι καὶ [οἱ ἐπιστάτα]  
 [ι· τὸ δὲ γράμ]μα τὸν ἀρχιτέκ[τονα ποι]ῆν [ὅ]σπερ τῷ Προ[πυλαίον· ἡοῦ]  
 10 [τος δὲ ἐπιμ]ελέσ[θο] μετὰ τῷ [ν ἐπιστ]ατὸν ἡόπος ἄριστ[α καὶ εὐτελέ]

Lines 2-3: *ἐκποιεῖν τὰγάλματα*. Or perhaps *ἐκποιεῖν τὰ ἐναέτια*, rather than *ἐκποιεῖν τὰ ἐναίετια*. The crasis is suggested on the analogy of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 372, line 75, and apparently *ποιεῖν*, rather than *ποεῖν*, was the spelling employed in lines 4 and 9.

Lines 4-5: *ἀπὸ τὸν χρεμάτων ἈθENAΐας*. Cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 298 = Meritt, *A.F.D.*, p. 93: *ἀπὸ τῶν [χρημάτων] ἈθENAΐας [Πολιά]δος*. But possibly *ἀπὸ χρεμάτων τῆς ἈθENAΐας* or *ἀπὸ χρεμάτων τὸν ἈθENAΐας*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *héos* [ἄν νεμε]θεῖ καὶ ἐπισκευασ[θεῖ ἡος κάλλιστα].

[στατα νεμεθ]έσεται ηε ἀκρ[όπολις] καὶ ἐπισκευασθ[έ]σεται τὰ δεό[ ]  
 [μενα· τοῖς δ]ἐ ἄλλοις χρέμα[σιν τοῖ]ς τῆς Ἀθηναίας το[ῖς τε νῦν ὄσι]  
 [ν ἐμ πόλει κ]αὶ ἡάτ' ἂν τ[ὸ] λο[ιπὸν ἂν]αφέρεται μὲ χρῆσ[θ]α[ι μεδὲ ἀπα]  
 [ναλίσκεν ἀ]π' αὐτὸν ἐ[ς] ἄλλο μ[εδὲν ἐ] ἐς ταῦτα ἡνπὲρ μν[ρ]ί[ας δραχμὰ]  
 15 [ς ἐ ἐς ἐπισκ]ευὲν εἰάν τι δέε[ι· ----- κτλ. -----]

With this text the cost of the old obligations is balanced against the cost of the new; the operative verb ἐκποιεῖν is supplemented by an authorization to spend in ἀπαναλόσει χρῆσθαι, just as the sanction implied in νέμεν and ἐπισκευάζειν is supplemented by ἀναλίσκοντας; and in both cases the spending was permitted for the duration of the work, with ἡέος ἂν in lines 3-4 and 7. No other subject being expressed, the Athenian people must be understood as the subject of all the infinitives down to line 8. But this is a normal and satisfactory construction. Kallias was interested in the allocation of Athena's money and in its frugal spending. His strictures on its use were continued into the future with his prohibition in lines 12-19: [τοῖς δ]ἐ ἄλλοις χρέμα[σιν -----] μὲ χρῆσ[θ]α[ι ----- κτλ.]. His name has no special importance for the history of ancient art,<sup>17</sup> except perhaps as measures of economy tended to discourage new undertakings, but his financial reorganization of 434 must have been of outstanding significance in the history of the Athenian treasury.

(4) Dinsmoor recognizes that with the Kallias decrees dated in 438 there is a hiatus between the decrees and the extant inventories which they sanctioned. He explains this by assuming (*loc. cit.*, p. 138, and note 155) that inventories were drawn up for 438-434 on paper, but probably not cut on stone.

Here the evidence unquestionably points to 434 and not 438: Dinsmoor's plea is simply that it is not conclusive. The decrees of Kallias were quite specific that the inventories of the Other Gods, at least, should be cut on stone (D1, lines 22 and 25). Moreover, the Treasurers of the Other Gods were to render their accounts in the future from Panathenaia to Panathenaia καθάπερ οἱ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίας τ[α]μειύοντες, and they were to set up these stelai, on which they inscribed the moneys, on the Acropolis (D1, lines 27-30). It would be strange to interpret these lines to mean that the Treasurers of the Other Gods had to use stone, while the Treasurers of Athena could be content with paper. Surely both boards inscribed stelai of stone, and the only question is whether they have all been preserved.

The Treasurers of the Other Gods are represented only by *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 310,<sup>18</sup> and earlier as well as later stelai are lost. But the Treasurers of Athena have three almost entire series, for the Pronaos, the Parthenon, and the Hekatompedon, each beginning, so far as the records are extant, in 434/3. These records are grouped by Panathenaic quadrennia. For the pronaos the so-called "first stone" carries the accounts of 434-430, the "second stone" those of 430-426, and the "third stone" those of 426-422.

<sup>17</sup> As Dinsmoor thought (*loc. cit.*, p. 138).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Jotham Johnson, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 31-43.

When the decision was reached to use the reverse surfaces of these stones, the (lost) reverse of the "first stone" was presumably cut with the accounts of 422-418, and then (still largely preserved) the accounts of 418-414 and 414-410 were inscribed on the reverse surfaces of the "second" and "third stones" respectively. The implication of this arrangement is clear: the so-called "first stone" was the first stone in fact and there was no earlier stone with a record from 438 to 434 the reverse of which could be used when the fashion turned in this direction. If one assumes that the reverse of this hypothetical earlier stone was not available or was left blank the hypothesis seems unnecessarily complex. It is rendered still more improbable by what is extant of the Hekatompedon and Parthenon accounts. There is no stone for the Hekatompedon to cover 438-434, and the disposition of the Parthenon accounts suggests also that no such stone ever existed for their similar record. At any rate none has been found.

These arguments favor dating the Kallias decrees in 434 rather than in 438, and they have been traditionally so interpreted.

(5) Dinsmoor holds that two small archaic temples, called *οικήματα* in the Hekatompedon inscription of 485/4 (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 4, line 17: *οικέματα*), were left standing until 438; they were then demolished as a result of the terms of the decrees of Kallias, and their materials were used in the foundations of the Propylaia. Dinsmoor illustrates a lintel block from "temple B" which in its re-use has been so bonded into the construction on either side of it that it must have been laid in place as early as 437 B.C. This, says Dinsmoor, is "a final argument for the date 438/7 B.C. for the Kallias decrees."

This argument would have weight if the Kallias decrees mentioned the *οικήματα* (they do not) or could be shown in any way to require their demolition or to imply that their demolition was recent (they do neither of these things). Apparently Dinsmoor thinks that Kallias ordered Athena's treasure to be placed in the Opisthodomos, but Paton was undoubtedly right when he observed that the use of the Opisthodomos was already well established for the Treasurers of Athena before the decrees of Kallias were passed.<sup>19</sup> Kallias creates the Treasurers of the Other Gods, and he models their duties on the known routine of the Treasurers of Athena. They will not come into existence before the New Year: till then Athena's treasurers are to act as their receivers, taking charge of such items of their treasure as shall arrive during the current year. When they (the Treasurers of the Other Gods) move into the Opisthodomos at the New Year, they are to have the left-hand side while the Treasurers of Athena keep the right; and they will also thenceforth share with Athena's treasurers in the responsibilities of opening and closing and sealing the doors of the Opisthodomos. Every word implies that an old tenant is sharing with, and making way for, a newcomer.

<sup>19</sup> James M. Paton, *The Erechtheum*, p. 472; cf. Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*, p. 139, note 156.



We do not have to broach the question whether the Opisthodomos was the amputated west end of the Peisistratid temple or the west vestibule of the Parthenon. If it was the latter, Athena's treasure could no doubt have moved in in 438; if (as Dinsmoor holds) it was the former, the treasure could have been there far longer. The problem of where this treasure was housed in the middle years of the fifth century is not one that has to be solved here, but Kallias' decrees give no grounds for thinking that, up to their time, it was in the *οἰκήματα*. So far as Kallias tells us, the *οἰκήματα* may never have been repaired since the Persian occupation. The last and only time they are mentioned is in 485; so the block which was used in the foundations of the Propylaia may (for all Kallias tells us) have remained stacked as building material on the Acropolis since 479.

Dinsmoor has proposed the foregoing arguments, with variations and subdivisions, urging that they favor, or permit, or prove the dating of the Kallias decrees in 438 B.C. The evidence does not support this view, but leaves little room to doubt the now generally accepted assignment to 434 B.C.

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## TWO ATTIC EPIGRAMS

**I**. I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 4321. The stone on which this epigram was cut was seen by Pittakys in 1839 near the Propylaia.<sup>1</sup> Stephani searched in vain for it on the Acropolis in 1846, and then Pittakys discovered it again in 1850, this time west of the Parthenon. It was seen and copied in 1868 by Richard Schoene and at that time was resting upon the steps at the east end of the Parthenon.<sup>2</sup> The stone is now in the Epigraphical Museum in the Lower City where it bears the inventory number 8806.

The restoration of the text now published in the *editio minor* of the *Corpus* is that of Kaibel,<sup>3</sup> with the exception of the beginning of line 2, which depends upon Loewy.<sup>4</sup> The reading of the first line has presented serious difficulty, for the stone-cutter obviously made a mistake in inscribing the letters and then effected a correction by re-inscribing the beginning of the line with letters more closely spaced. The original text was not erased, and hence the present result shows a state of some confusion. A good picture is presented by the drawing in Loewy's publication, but he shows more at the very beginning of the line than is now discernible upon my very excellent squeeze.

One may make the following deductions with certainty: (a) The first line was originally cut in the true stoichedon pattern which characterizes the entire text; there were eight letters before the word ἀρετῆς. (b) When the correction was made, the first two letters of ἀρετῆς were re-inscribed to the right of their original positions and the tall vertical stroke at the end of a preceding word was cut in the space originally occupied by the alpha of ἀρετῆς. (c) The corrected text contained more letters than the original, and one must base his estimate of the number of extra letters upon his judgment of the nature of the error that had to be corrected.

I suggest as a solution to the epigraphical problem that the stonecutter wrote originally MNHMANTI before ἀρετῆς, whereas, in fact, he should have written MNHMATOΔΕΑΝΤΙ. The error is explicable on the assumption that he confused the final alpha of μνήμα with the initial alpha of ἀντί and so omitted five letters in the first draft. I take it that the vertical stroke now visible before ἀρετῆς is the final iota of ἀντί and tentatively I restore the beginning of the line as follows: [μνήμα τóδε ἀντ]ι ἀρετῆς. It is not clear whether one should assume that the stonecutter invariably avoided elision, but in line 2 there is a clear example in the combination ὃδε αὐτόχθων. If elision is permissible in line 1, then the vertical stroke before ἀρετῆς may belong to the tau of ἀντ' and the opening words may have appeared as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1839, no. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1854, no. 2309; *Hermes*, V, 1871, pp. 308-309.

<sup>3</sup> *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 771.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscripfen Griechischer Bildhauer*, no. 62.

[μνημα τόδ' ἀν]τ' ἀρετῆς. I am unable to determine whether the faint trace of a letter which appears on my squeeze above the delta in line 2 is part of an alpha. If it is, then it tends to confirm the shortened form of line 1.

Pittakys was not the first of modern scholars to see and copy this stone. It was seen also by Sir George Wheler during his visit to Athens in 1676, and Wheler's copy is now in his manuscript notes in the British Museum.<sup>5</sup> Wheler describes the stone as being "prope Turrim," which accords well enough with the place of Pittakys' first discovery. In his notes Wheler has the stone between *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5206 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5818, the former being "in Epistylion portae 2<sup>ae</sup> Castelli" and the latter being "prope templum Νίκης ἀπτέρου." Furthermore, Wheler saw the stone before the right half of it had been broken away; so the readings may now be taken from his text and do not have to depend upon restoration. Unfortunately, the top of the stone had been lost even in Wheler's time and he has left no record of line 1, but even on the preserved fragment parts of two letters still exist after ἀρετῆς. The first of these can only have been chi; the letter which follows it now exists as an upright vertical stroke properly spaced for rho, and I assume that these letters form the beginning of the name of the man whose valor was rewarded by the dedication. His name and the restoration at the end of the line must remain conjectural. The following is the text:

[μνημα τόδ' ἀν]τ' ἀρετῆς Χρ[-----]  
 [δημο]ς ὅδε αὐτόχθων ἀντιθέο Κέκροπος·  
 [τῶ]ι δὲ σὺ πλότον σῶιζε, θεά, τέρ<ε>ν' <ῥ>ν τε ὑγίεια[ι]  
 αὐτῶι καὶ γενεᾷ δὸς βίον ἐκτελέσαι.  
 Δημήτριος  
 ἐπόησεν.

At the end of line 3 Wheler's copy has *τερηννηντευγεια*; at the beginning of line 4 *αὐτωνκαιγενεα*; and in line 6 *εποιεσεν*. There is evidently a difficulty of some kind which must be resolved in Wheler's copy of line 3. I have adopted a suggestion of Paul Friedländer that eta was read here twice for epsilon, and that the correct text should be [τῶ]ι δὲ σὺ πλότον σῶιζε, θεά, τέρ<ε>ν' <ῥ>ν τε ὑγίεια[ι] αὐτῶι καὶ γενεᾷ δὸς βίον ἐκτελέσαι. We arrived at this version after long correspondence in which many variants were considered, among them being readings which involved the change of *τερηννην* to <εῖ>ρήνην or to *τερ[έ]νην*.<sup>6</sup> But the phrase ἐν ὑγίειαι seems necessary at the end of line 3 to complete the meaning of line 4: "Grant to him and his family to finish

<sup>5</sup> Add. MS. 35334, no. 227. I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this item.

<sup>6</sup> No satisfactory solution naming Wealth, Peace, and Health could be found. The form *τερ<ε>νην* might be interpreted as an accusative feminine from *τέρην*, *τέρεινα*, *τέρεν*. That this is not impossible is shown by the known genitive *τερένης* in *Anth. Gr.*, IX, 430, and by the grammarian's note on Alcaeus, 161: ἀπὸ τούτου θηλυκὸν *τερένη*, *τερένης* ---. (Cf. Cramer's *Anecdota Graeca* from Oxford as quoted in *Lyra Graeca*, I [Loeb Classics], *ad loc.*).



their lives in health." To take line 4 by itself not only involves a harsh asyndeton but conveys a prayer of doubtful taste: "Grant to him and his family to finish their lives."<sup>7</sup> In the usage desired the phrase ἐν ὑγείᾳ can be supported by a reference to Plato, *Laws*, 734 B: ὑπερβάλλουσι δὲ ἡδοναὶ μὲν λύπας ἐν ὑγείᾳ, λύπαι δὲ ἡδονὰς ἐν νόσοις. It is perhaps idle to speculate about the nature of the dedication, but one may imagine the figure of Demos crowning the hero. In my opinion the use of ὅδε, referring to the demos, shows that this figure was represented together with that of the hero honored.

2. The following text depends upon a copy from the notes of Sir George Wheler:<sup>8</sup>

ἀχυνθὲν τόδε δῶρον ὑπὲρ τάφον εἴσατο μήτηρ  
 παιδὶ φάου[ς] ὀλίγον πάμπαν ἀπο<φθι>μένον.  
 οὔνομα δ' ἐστι -----.

One obvious error in Wheler's copy has been corrected. The following is his version with an indication also of his division of the lines: ἀχυνθεντοδεδω | ροννπερτα-  
 φονεισα | τομητηρπαιδιφαιου | ολιγουπαμπαναπονε | μενου Ϝ οννομαδεστι.

Attention should be called to the form ἀχυνθέν, which appears clearly in Wheler's copy. It appears also in one of the manuscripts (C) of Herodotos, V, 77, 4 and may lie at the base of the reading ἀχυννθέν in two other manuscripts (A, B) of the same passage. The text has been emended in Herodotos either to ἀχυνόεν (Hecker) or ἀχλυνόεν (Hude). The same may be done here, if one wishes to achieve a form recognized in Liddell and Scott. The main lexicon has neither ἀχυνθέν nor ἀχυνόεν, though ἀχυνόεν has been restored in the *Addenda* and in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 394, the epigraphical original of the epigram preserved by Herodotos. I owe to Wade-Gery the suggestion that a new form ἀπο<σβ>εμένον may possibly be inferred for the end of line 2.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

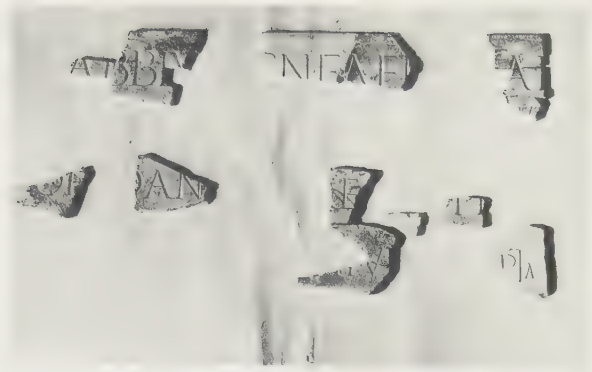
<sup>7</sup> Our text shows here a case of elision, although the *scriptio plena* is attested in both lines 2 and 3: ὅδε αὐτόχθων and τε ὑγεία[ι]. Such lack of regularity is not without parallel, as, for example, in Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 39, 71, and 79. In line 1 the suggested elision may have been occasioned by the crowded spacing in the corrected text, whereas the original version probably did not show elision (ἀντί being written in full before ἀρετῆς). The spelling ἐποίησεν in line 6, instead of ἐπόησεν, shows that Wheler elsewhere had difficulty with the confusion of epsilon and eta.

<sup>8</sup> See footnote 5, above. The manuscript carries the inscription number 307, and Wheler states that he copied it "in aedibus Dni Benaldi." I am indebted to Paul Friedländer again for helpful criticism of this text.





1. Babbus Monument, Restored  
by E. Scroubelos



3. Fragments of Inscription from  
Southeast Building



2. Waiting Room West of Bema



PLATE LV



4. Corinthian Skyphoi from Well in Southeast Building



5. Attic Vases from Well in Southeast Building



6. East Half of South Stoa, from West



7. Northeast Corner of South Stoa and Terrace Wall Showing Wheel Ruts



PLATE LVII



8. Amphora Handles with Rhodian and Knidian Stamps

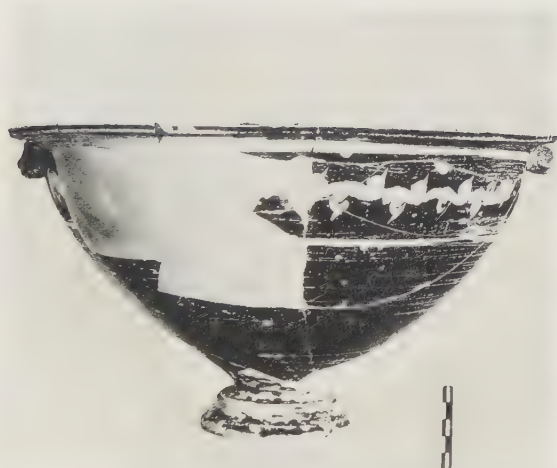


9. Amphora Top with Latin Stamp on Handles

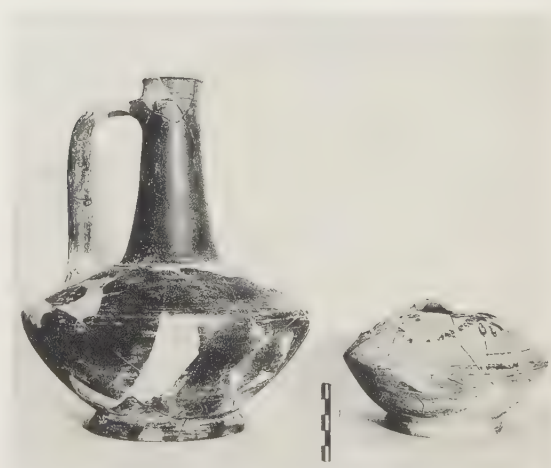




10. Amphora Lids



11. Mixing Bowl



12. Two Lagynoi

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13. Two Drinking Cups

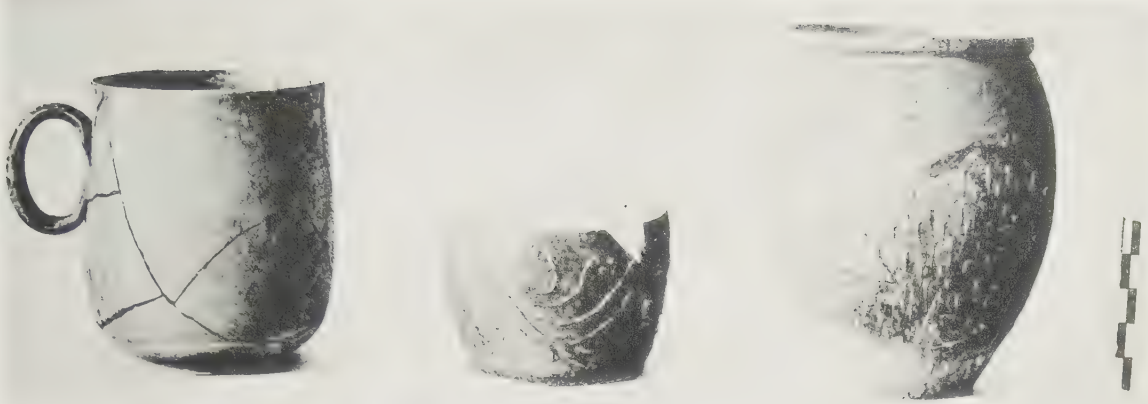


14. Two Drinking Cups, One Inscribed



15. Inscribed Drinking Cups





16. Three Drinking Cups



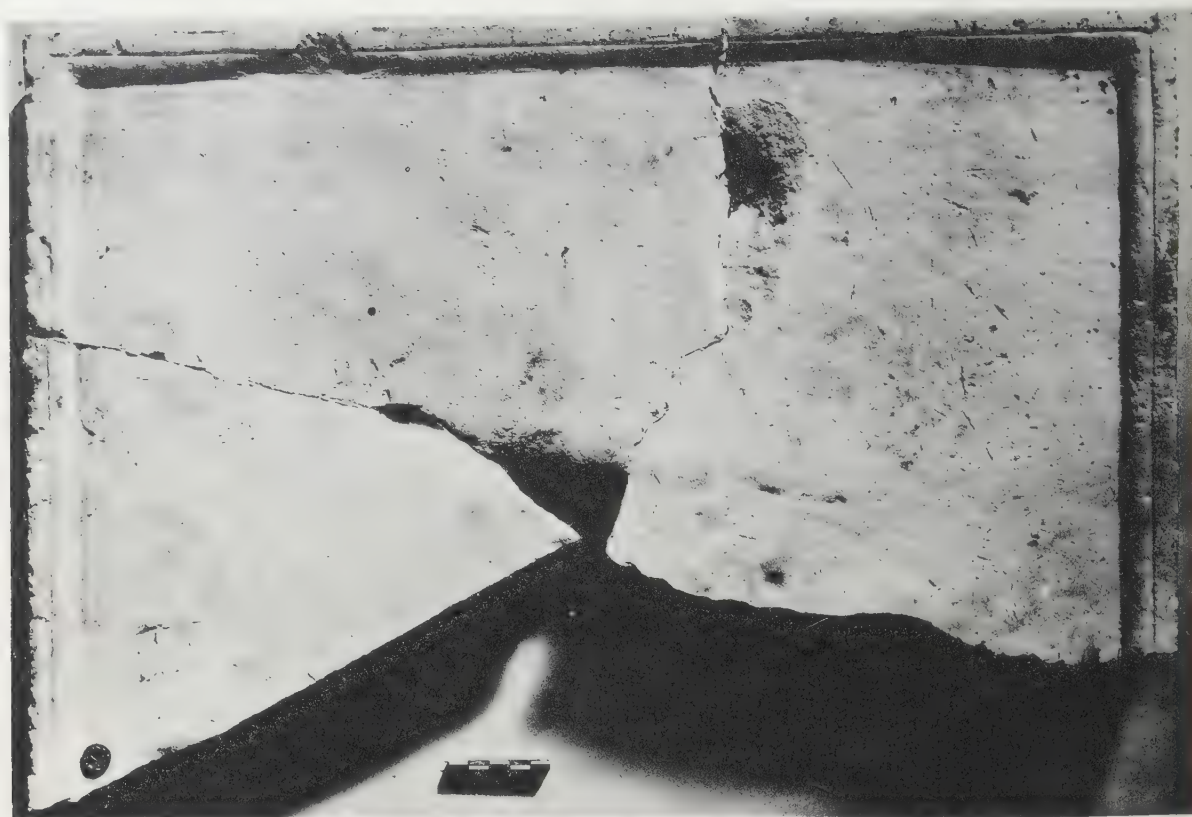
18. Lamps from the Stoa Wells



17. Two Megarian Bowls



PLATE LXI



19. Marble Table with Silver Coin Adhering to the Top



20. Knuckle Bones and Markers



21. Pieces of Bone and Ivory Flutes



22. Terracotta Tubes from Well XV



23. Terracotta Mould and Plaster Cast

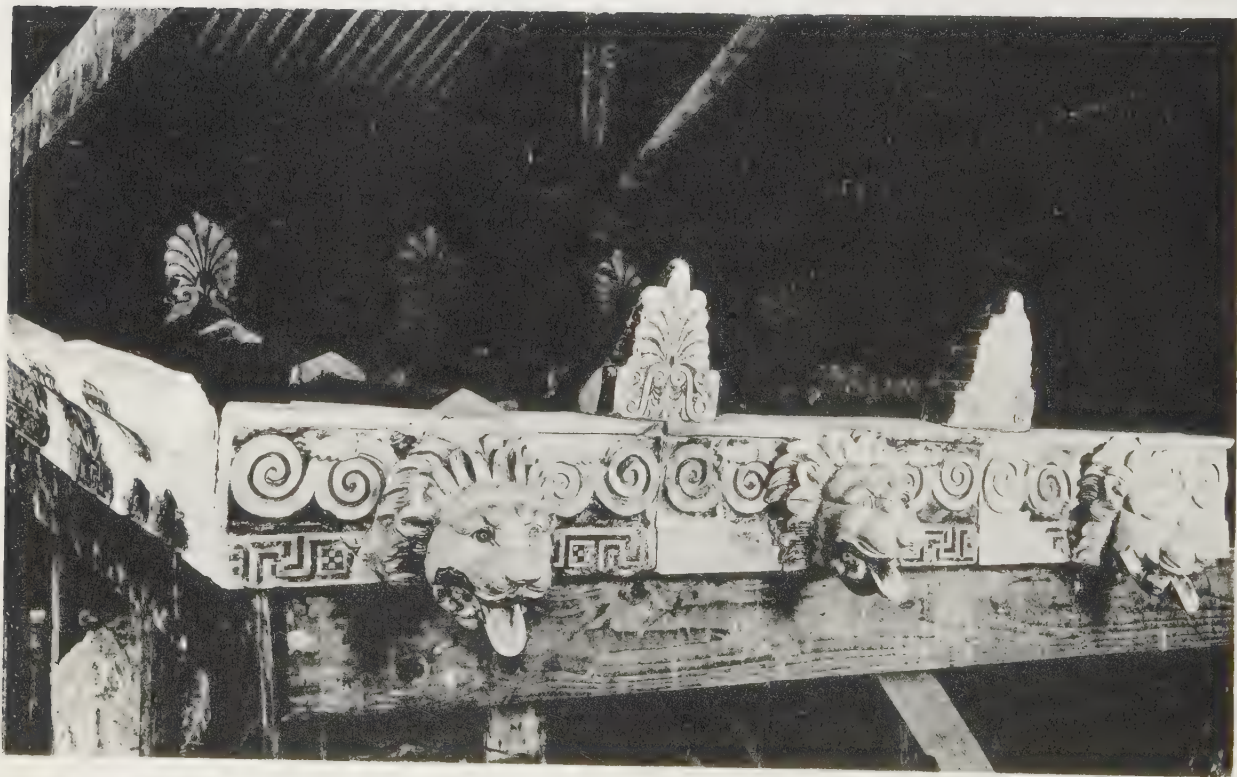




24. Marble Head from Well XX



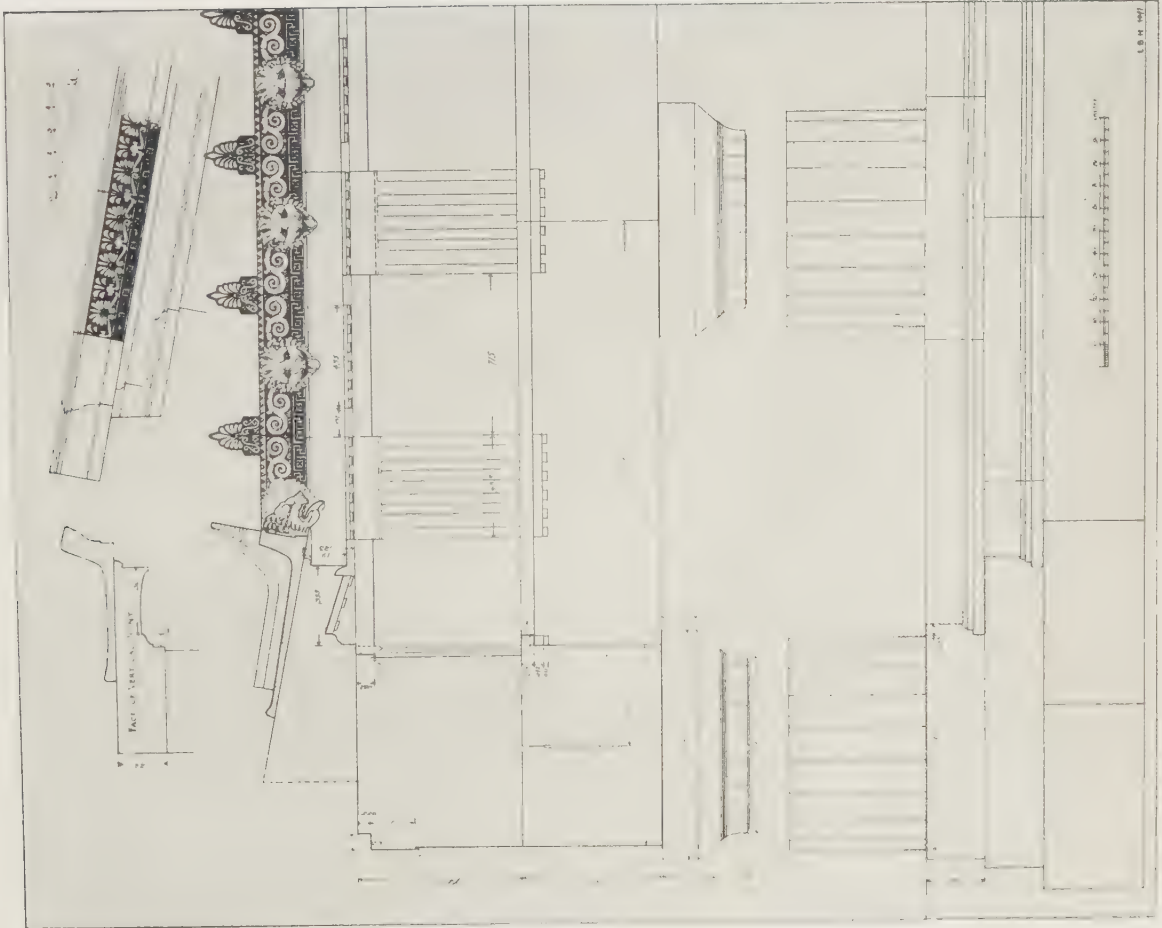
25. Bronze Plaque with Figure of Hermes



26. Section of South Stoa Roof, Reconstructed

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27. Doric Order of the Stoa (Restored by L. B. Holland)

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28. Statuette of Aphrodite



29. Egyptian Terracotta Figure of Dionysos



30. Bearded Deity, Egyptian Terracotta

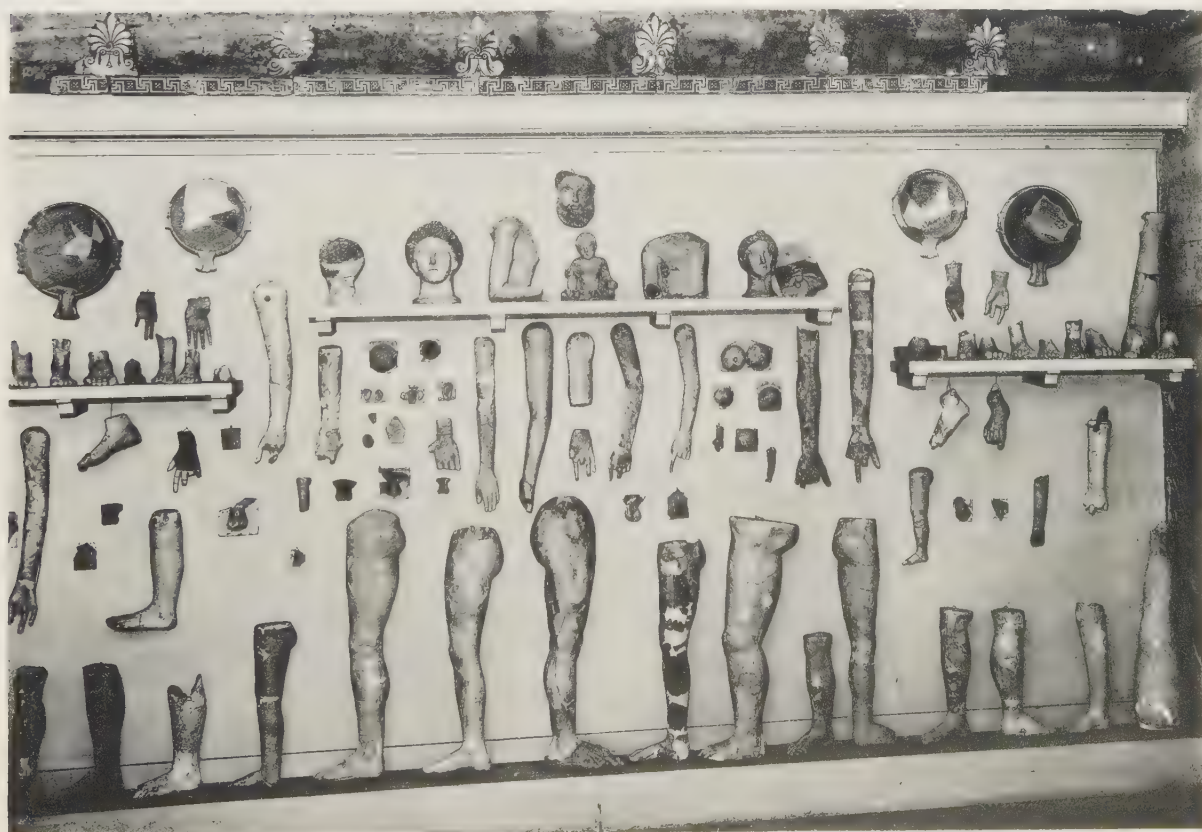


31. Red-Figured Skyphos, Front





32. Red-Figured Skyphos Plate LXV, 31, Rear



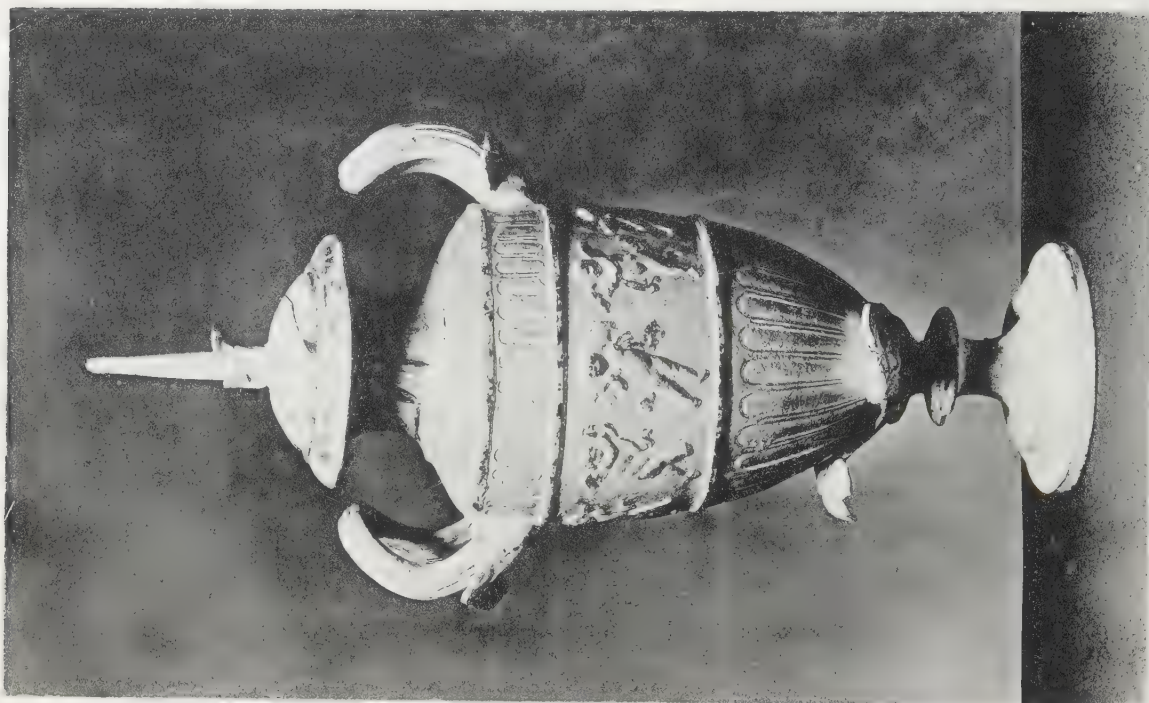
33. Dedications to Asklepios





1

Polychrome Amphoras from Tarentum. Bacchic Erotes. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery  
HILL: BACCHIC EROTES AT TARENTUM



2





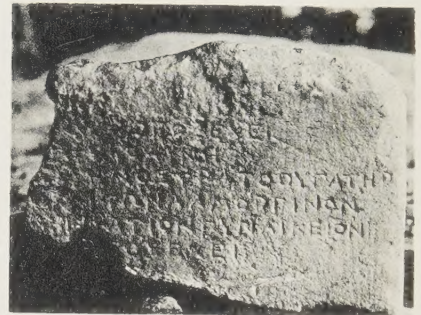
No. 4



No. 5



No. 8



No. 13

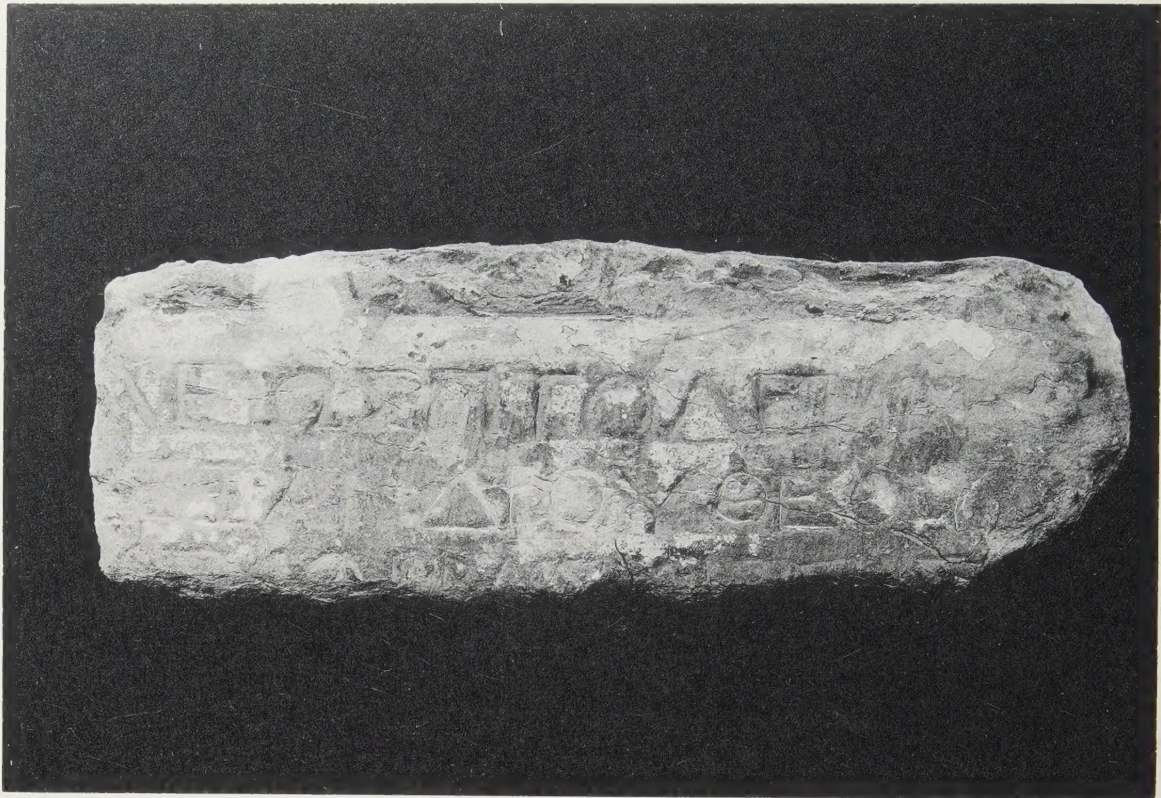


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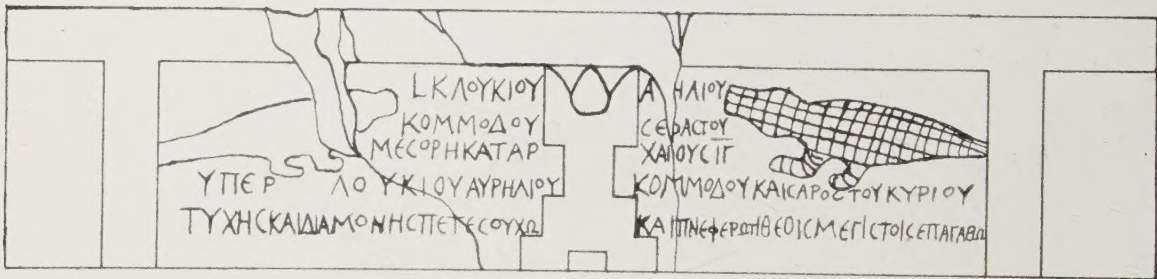


No. 20





1



2

SCHUMAN: INSCRIPTIONS FROM KARANIS



HEICHELHEIM: NUMISMATIC COMMENTS







